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Ludlow

AN

MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Eſq;

Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, *&c.*

VOLUME III.

WITH

A collection of ORIGINAL PAPERS, ſerving to confirm and illuſtrate many important paſſages of this and the preceeding volumes.

To which is added,

A TABLE to the whole work.

The THIRD EDITION.

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The PREFACE.

WHEN the two former volumes of theſe memoirs were publiſhed, the author's friends had no deſign of letting the reſt of his papers go abroad; as well becauſe thoſe already printed contain the moſt remarkable tranſactions that paſſed during the whole time that England was governed without a King, as becauſe much of this following part conſiſts of things relating to his own perſon. But the good reception which the other volumes have found in moſt parts of Europe, and the inceſſant inquiries of divers perſons of worth and honour concerning theſe remains, has induced the friends of the author to think, that the public might have juſt cauſe to complain, if they ſhould be denied the view of the following papers. And indeed, after a careful peruſal of them, they find, if they miſtake not, that they will afford ſuch inſtructions, as may prove not unſerviceable to the world. For men will ſee, that though the moſt violent animoſity, and deſire of revenge, had poſſeſſed the Engliſh court againſt thoſe who had any part in the death of Charles I. *that they thought the moſt baſe and treacherous ways of compaſſing their ends not to be rejected; yet many years were ſpent, many villains unſucceſſfully employed, ſome of them puniſhed, much treaſure conſumed, and more infamy contracted, whilſt they could not find means to aſſaſſinate more than one of all thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves from their fury; and that the principal perſon againſt whom they directed their malice, lived to ſee that tyranny brought to the* *laſt degree of contempt, which had taken ſo much pains to deſtroy him. The tragical end of the King's judges may be an inſtruction to thoſe who ſhall in future time appear in the defence of liberty, to avoid all occaſions of diviſion, to uſe their power with moderation, and to content themſelves with ſuch a ſhare in the public felicity, as may be conſiſtent with the public ſafety. Men may learn from the iſſue of the Cromwellian tyranny, that liberty and a ſtanding mercenary army are incompatible. For it is as clear as the ſun at noon-day, that the parliament, by neglecting to put a period to the exorbitant greatneſs of Oliver Cromwel immediately after the battle at Worceſter, drew deſtruction upon themſelves and the whole commonwealth; and gave the army ſuch an opportunity to feel their ſtrength, as naturally led them to counſels deſtructive to the government. This produced that monſtrous tyranny of the Uſurper, and his Baſhaws, under the name of Majors-General; and afterwards compelled the people to ſuffer the return of Charles* II. *The ingratitude of that prince to the Preſbyterians, who had ſo well deſerved from him by betraying all into his hands, may ſerve to admoniſh thoſe who go under that, or any other denomination of religion or party, that no truſt can be ſafely repoſed, where there is found an incompatibility of manners and principles; and that a revenge taken againſt thoſe who will not let us poſſeſs all, is a ſlender ſatisfaction for the hazard of utter ruin. But theſe, and perhaps many other more uſeful reflexions, judicious men will be much better able to make, than others to ſuggeſt.*

Bern, March 26. 1699.

ME-

MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Eſq;

THE convention at Weſtminſter having thought themſelves ſufficiently authoriſed to alter the government by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir John Greenville for the meſſage he had brought; the proclamation for the readmiſſion of monarchy in the perſon of Charles Stuart, was publiſhed on the 8th of May, in the preſence of the new General, George Monk. Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happineſs expected from this change. The officers of the army ſubſcribed a declaration, and preſented it to Monk to be ſent to the King; in which they expreſſed a reſolution to become true and faithful ſubjects, and to accept of the King's grace and favour, according to the tenor of his late declaration from Breda. Whilſt theſe things were doing, I kept myſelf private at the houſe of a particular friend, till I might better underſtand what the iſſue was like to be: for the council of ſtate had, on the day I arrived at London, ſent orders into the weſt of England for ſeizing my perſon; which probably might have been ſerved upon me, if I had returned by the uſual road. Fifteen commiſſioners were appointed to be ſent to Breda, to compliment the new King, and to attend him in his paſſage to England; five to be nominated by the Lords, and ten by the Commons. But every man expecting ſome mark of favour to be conferred on him for this ſervice, great contentions aroſe among the members for that employment. To theſe, many others, eſpecially of the looſer ſort of men, added themſelves; and ſome, to make an early offer of their ſubjection, and to provide themſelves of favour and places, went over before the commiſſioners: and being one day with their King in his apartment, boaſting of their loyalty and ſervices, he called for wine, and, applying himſelf to the Duke of York, drank to the health of thoſe Gentlemen; with this remark, That he was now even with them, having, as he thought, done as much for them as they had done for him.

The committee of privileges and elections having declared me to have been duly returned to ſerve for the borough of Hinden in the county of Wilts, and made their report, which was agreed by the houſe, I received an order for my admiſſion to ſit as a member; but clogged with this unuſual clauſe, "That I ſhould attend my "duty in the houſe, and take my place by a "certain day;" which would be within ten days after the date of the ſaid order. Suſpecting that the reaſon of this inſertion might proceed from ſome information given by the council of ſtate that I had withdrawn myſelf, I thought fit to make my application to Mr. Arthur Anneſley, knowing him to be a leading man among them, as well to give him ſatisfaction touching the cauſe of my abſence, as to learn from him what might be the reaſon of that addition. And though I well underſtood, that being now declared to be a member of that which was called a houſe of Commons, no other power could ſeize me without breach of their privileges; yet the ſame council of ſtate ſtill ſitting, which had procured from the ſecluded members a power to ſeize any member that did not ſit, and conſidering that things were carried on with the utmoſt treachery, I ſent a ſervant to let him know I would wait on him at night. He received me with great civility; and, having conducted me to his apartment, I acquainted him, That the end of my coming to him at that time, was to aſſure him, that my late privacy did not proceed from any deſign that I had on foot againſt the preſent power; but that finding the wheel to go round ſo faſt, that it was difficult to gueſs where it might reſt, I thought a man who had been engaged with the firſt againſt the King, and always zealous for a commonwealth-government, might be excuſed, if he was unwilling to be found in priſon at the King's return; eſpecially ſince it was well known, that a warrant had been ſigned for my ſeizure: and therefore I deſired he would favour me to inform thoſe that were in power with the true reaſons of my abſence. He anſwered, That though I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well ſatisfied that my intentions were directed to the public good; and though he could not blame me for taking meaſures to avoid a confinement, yet he aſſured me that a hair of my head ſhould not ſuffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the paſſages that had happened in the houſe upon the report from the committee touching my election: That though nothing was ſaid againſt it, yet becauſe I was the perſon concerned, who, as they ſaid, had conſtantly oppoſed them, and withdrawn myſelf out of their protection, a vote of the houſe had probably paſſed againſt agreeing with the committee, if he had not ſtood up, and deſired the houſe, "That "they would not do an act upon a perſonal "diſtaſte, of which they would be aſhamed "when they ſhould better conſider the matter: "that juſtice ought to be impartial; and that "nothing being alledged againſt the report of "the committee, it ought to be taken for good: "that if the perſon concerned had done any "thing amiſs, he being a member, ought to "anſwer it in his place." This motion, being ſeconded by Mr. Matthew Hale, prevailed with the houſe to allow the report, with the addition before mentioned. He took this occaſion to tell me, that there was a young head-ſtrong party in the houſe, who in all debates were for the moſt violent courſes, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order; yet adviſed me to take my place in the houſe as ſoon as I could. I thought fit to follow his counſel, not only to undeceive thoſe who thought I would continue in my retirement, but alſo, by coming among them before I was expected, to diſturb the meaſures of thoſe who waited for my ruin. I choſe to go into the houſe early in the morning; and immediately went up into the Speaker's chambers; where I was no ſooner ſat down, than

Maj. Robert Harley came to me, and deſired, that if any thing ſhould be objected againſt me by any member of the houſe, which he ſuppoſed would happen, and that the houſe ſhould require me to anſwer, I would by all means forbear to ſay any thing in juſtification of the proceedings of the high court of juſtice againſt the late King, becauſe it would not be ſuffered. I told him, that unleſs I was conſtrained, I ſaw no reaſon to mention that matter; but in that caſe, though it ſhould coſt me my life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the members, who, during the time of the parliament's proſperity, had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the preſent condition of affairs. To whom I contented myſelf to reply in general, That if they liked it not, they might thank themſelves; and that as to my own particular, my conſcience did not at all accuſe me for contributing to the change, or not uſing my endeavours to prevent it. Others ſaid, They had frequently admoniſhed us, that things would be brought to this paſs, by rendering the foundations of our party too narrow. But to theſe I anſwered, That they knew my principles and practices to have been ſuch in that reſpect, as had drawn upon me the cenſures of many. Divers of thoſe, who, in Richard's convention, had joined with the commonwealth-intereſt, now appeared to be totally altered; whilſt others, who had oppoſed them at that time, now wiſhed for Sir Henry Vane, and ſome others, to balance the Royal party. But thoſe who had continued in their fidelity to the public cauſe, though they durſt not ſpeak out by reaſon of the preſent torrent, yet ſhook their heads to expreſs their diſlike of the preſent affairs.

The commiſſioners who had been voted to be ſent to Breda being to be nominated that day I took my place in the houſe, divers members ſolicited me to inſert their names in my paper. But though it was my fortune to be one of this convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own preſervation; yet reſolving to have no part in betraying the commonwealth, by re-eſtabliſhing the government againſt which I had engaged, and contracting the guilt of that blood which had been ſhed in the late wars, I determined to put in no paper of names. To this end I went out of the houſe. But the Serjeant at Arms being commanded by the Speaker to call in all the members to be numbered, and ſeeing me, was very earneſt with me to return to the houſe. I told him, I deſigned not to put in any paper; and therefore it was not neceſſary I ſhould be numbered. In the mean time, the Serjeant received freſh orders to ſummon the members; and, repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, if I would not go into the houſe, he would inform the Speaker of my refuſal; which had he done, it is probable I ſhould have been ſent to the Tower. But having deſired him to inquire of ſome ancient member, whether it was neceſſary for one who would put in no paper, to be numbered with the reſt? he went to Mr. Pierpoint, and Serjeant Glynn, to aſk the queſtion: who, I ſuppoſe, ſatisfied the Serjeant it was not neceſſary; for, looking down from the gallery, I perceived both of them to ſmile whilſt he was with them; but eſpecially becauſe I heard no more of that matter.

This buſineſs being over, the houſe fell into a debate touching perſons to be intruſted with the great ſeal. All agreed in Mr. Tyrrel: but it was objected against Serjeant Fountain, That though he had been formerly for the King, yet he had of late ſhewed himſelf a great promoter of the reformation of the law. Many preſſed, that the Earl of Mancheſter might be one of the commiſſioners; but others, who were better informed of affairs, objecting, That it would be a diſhonour to the Earl, to be put into a place, which they aſſured the houſe was already given away to another perſon, no more was ſaid concerning him. In the afternoon I went to the committee of elections, which ſat in the houſe. Another day I ſat with the members in the Abbey to hear a ſermon; and endeavoured in all things ſo to carry myſelf, as to give no occaſion to ſuſpect me to be under any apprehenſions of danger; hoping by this means to diſcourage my enemies from moving any thing againſt me; which I knew the cavalier party inclined to do out of principle; and divers of thoſe who had ſerved the parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential care of themſelves; hoping not only to make their own peace, by ſacrificing thoſe who had been moſt faithful to the public, but alſo to procure favour and preferment for themſelves.

During this time, I had ſent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to ſell my ſtock, which in ſheep, black cattle, corn, and horſes, might amount to about 1500l. and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my ſtock to my brother-in-law Col. Kempſon, for ſatisfaction of my ſiſter's portion, preſſing him to ſend ſome perſon forthwith to take poſſeſſion. Which not being done with the expedition that was requiſite in ſuch a conjuncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from the parliament, made ſeizure of all; forcing my tenants to pay my rents to him, and commanding my ſervant not to diſpoſe of any part of my ſtock but by his order; only four ſtone-horſes which I had bred, and were then in my ſtable, were taken away by Col. Theophilus Jones: theſe men, who had engaged in the ſame cauſe, outdoing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us.

In the convention things went high; men not daring to ſhew moderation, leſt it ſhould be called diſaffection to the King: but in private, divers members of both houſes declared themſelves of opinion, that a general indemnity ought to be granted for all that had paſſed, without any exception. The Earl of Northumberland was heard to ſay, That though he had no part in the death of the King, he was againſt queſtioning thoſe who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more uſeful to poſterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitancies. And the Lord Fairfax, on that ſubject, plainly ſaid, That, if any perſon muſt be excepted, he knew no man that deſerved it more than himſelf; who being General of the army at that time, and having power ſufficient to prevent the proceedings againſt the King, had not thought fit to make uſe of it to that end. Divers alſo of the Commons moved, That limitations and conditions might be drawn up, on which they ſhould conſent to receive their King; till at length finding, that Monk, who had the power in his hand, gave conſtant intelligence of all that was ſaid, and by whom, none of them durſt inſiſt any farther on thoſe heads. And that he might complete his treachery, when the Lord Say propoſed to him, that, for the quiet of mens minds, an act of indemnity ſhould be paſſed, in which ſome of thoſe who had been principally concerned in the death of the King might be excepted, he, in a great rage, anſwered, "Not a man: for, if I "ſhould ſuffer ſuch a thing, I ſhould be the ar"ranteſt rogue that ever lived." Yet, for all this, under colour that the houſe might have better terms from their King, by relying on his ingenuity, than by capitulating with him, eſpecially at a diſtance, he had the confidence to move them, That their commiſſioners might be impowered, ſimply to invite him into England. Which motion concurring with the opinion of the unforeſeeing cavaliers among them, and diſliked only by thoſe who had not courage enough to publiſh their diſſent, for fear of expoſing themſelves to a future revenge, was taken for the ſenſe of the whole houſe, and ſo paſſed.

Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody ſcene by the ſeizure of the Chief Juſtice Coke in Ireland, a party of the Staffordſhire militia, commanded by one Col. Bowyer, thought themſelves ſufficiently authoriſed to act in the like manner; and therefore ſeized Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, with his horſes and arms; he having refuſed, upon advice of their intentions, to withdraw himſelf from his houſe, accounting ſuch an action to be a deſertion of the cauſe in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the ſcriptures, to juſtify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and perſecutors, by removing themſelves where they may be protected: for that only can properly be called a deſertion of the cauſe, when men diſown it to ſave their lives, and not when they endeavour to ſecure themſelves by lawful means, in order to promote it. But I ſhall not take upon me to cenſure the conduct of the Major-General; not knowing what extraordinary impulſe one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way ſo qualified for the part he had in the following ſufferings, that even his enemies were aſtoniſhed and confounded.

The King's party in the houſe of Commons having got ſuch an aſcendant, that it was no longer ſafe to oppoſe them, drove on furiouſly, and procured a reſolution to be paſſed for ſeizing the perſons of all thoſe who had ſigned the warrant for the execution of the late King; which though carried with all poſſible privacy, yet being not deſtitute of friends among them, I had timely notice of their intentions. And becauſe I doubted not that the houſe where I lived would be ſuddenly ſearched, I went to another in Southampton buildings, belonging to one of my relations; where I had appointed ſome friends to meet me in the evening, and to bring me an account of what had paſſed at Weſtminſter. When I came to the houſe, I found my friends had been in great pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our meeting being paſt by almoſt two hours, through the fault of my watch. Upon the account I received of the ſtate of our affairs, we entered into a debate concerning the courſe I ſhould take to preſerve myſelf from the danger that threatened me: and the company adviſed, that I ſhould forthwith remove from the houſe where I was; becauſe the entrance was in ſo public a place, that it was probable I might have been obſerved at my coming in. For this reaſon I conſented to go immediately to the houſe of another friend, which was not far diſtant, and had a back-gate leading to ſeveral other houſes; with an intention to ſtay there till night, and then to repair to a more private place in London, which had been prepared for me ſome days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my friend, though not inſenſible of the danger that might enſue by entertaining me, would by no means let me go; alledging, that, on the night of that day when a reſolution of ſuch importance had paſſed the houſe, the watch in London would not fail of their accuſtomed diligence. This being ſeconded by ſome of my neareſt relations, who alſo adviſed me to ſtay, I was contented to acquieſce; and the next morning was informed, that the watch had hardly permitted any coach to paſs into London without ſome kind of ſearch.

The order for ſeizing the King's judges not producing that ſudden effect the Commons expected, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they commanded their real and perſonal eſtates to be forthwith ſeized in an extraordinary manner; contrary, I preſume, to the known laws, which provide, that no confiſcation ſhall be made till after conviction. But it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that thoſe who had ſo far parted with their prudence, to recal from a twelve years baniſhment,

niſhment, the ſon of a father whoſe head had been publicly taken off, and inveſt him with the government of a nation where this had been done, ſhould be no more ſolicitous for the privileges of their countrymen.

The houſe having received information, that Maj.-Gen. Harriſon was brought priſoner to London, they ordered him to be ſent to the Tower; and that all his horſes which had been taken from him by thoſe who had ſeized him at his houſe, ſhould be brought to the ſtables in the Mewſe, for the uſe of their King. Chief Juſtice Coke, being alſo ſent to London by Sir Charles Coote, was by another order committed priſoner to the ſame place.

In the mean time the commiſſioners ſent from England to attend the new King, arrived at Breda; where Mr. Denzil Hollis, according to the inſtructions he had received at Weſtminſter to impart their meſſage to the King, going about to execute that order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. Henry Howard, brother to the Earl of Arundel; who ſaid, it was inſolent in him to pretend that honour, which belonged to another of the commiſſioners; and named one that was his own kinſman. But Mr. Hollis affirming, that the houſe had intruſted him with their compliments and deſires, the King thought fit to make up the difference, and to ſuffer Mr. Hollis to perform his part. Fifty thouſand pounds were ſent over by theſe commiſſioners to pay the debts of the King, and to equip him for his journey to England, together with conſiderable ſums of money for the Dukes of York and Glouceſter. Divers private perſons alſo had taken care to make their preſents. Among others, Mr. William Lenthal, late Speaker of the parliament, had commiſſionated a friend to give the King 3000 l. from him, and to deſire that he might continue Maſter of the Rolls. But the perſon he had employed was told, that the place was already promiſed to another.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in Holland, the houſe of Commons were preparing a bill of indemnity with all poſſible diligence, that it might be ready to paſs at the arrival of the King. They unanimouſly agreed, That ſome of the King's judges ſhould be excepted, both as to life and eſtate; the remaining diſpute being only about the number. Some propoſed, that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen. But Monk, who had betrayed them all, expreſſing his deſires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine; which that *boutefeu* Prynn, contrary to the orders of the houſe, undertook to name. Yet I was ſo far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his liſt. Monk at laſt prevailed with the houſe to bring the number to ſeven.

Col. John Jones, who had acted as a member of the high court of juſtice, being walking one evening at ſome diſtance from his lodging to take the air, was ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, by order of the houſe; together with Mr. Gregory Clement, another of thoſe judges; who had concealed himſelf at a mean houſe near Grays-Inn. But ſome perſons having obſerved that better proviſions were carried to that place than had been uſual, procured an officer to ſearch the houſe; where they found Mr. Clement, and preſuming him to be one of the King's judges, though they knew him not perſonally, carried him before the commiſſioners of the militia for that precinct. One of theſe commiſſioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a ſlight examination, had prevailed with the reſt to diſmiſs him. But, as he was about to withdraw, it happened that a blind man who had crouded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, deſired he might be called in again; and demanded, If he was not Mr. Gregory Clement? The commiſſioners, not knowing how to refuſe his requeſt, permitted the queſtion to be aſked. And he not denying himſelf to be the man, was by that means diſcovered, and ſent to the Tower likewiſe.

Many of the judges paſſed over into Holland, and other parts beyond the ſeas; divers of them not without great danger of being ſurpriſed. Of theſe, Mr. Cornelius Holland being at Colcheſter, in order to depart with the firſt occaſion, the Mayor of the town was informed, that a ſuſpected perſon was lodged at a certain inn; and that they ſuppoſed him to be Maj.-Gen. Lambert. Upon this notice, the inn was ſearched; and his horſe, with other things, ſeized at four in the morning. But Mr. Holland was already gone abroad, to receive a ſum of money from a merchant of the place, who was to begin a journey to London early that day; and having received advice of what had paſſed at the inn, he was by the favour of a friend conveyed out of town, and by that means made his eſcape.

The new King being ſuddenly expected, great numbers of thoſe who had been officers in the cavalier-army, or were otherwiſe zealous for him, procured horſes and cloaths, for the moſt part upon credit; and formed themſelves into troops, under the Lord Litchfield, Lord Cleveland, and that apoſtate Brown the woodmonger, in order to attend him at his reception. And news being brought that he was put out to ſea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horſe, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing. The King embraced him, kiſſed him, and called him father; and it might be truly ſaid, that in ſome reſpects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the King preſented him with the George and Garter; the firſt was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Glouceſter. And becauſe it was ſuſpected, that the army which had fought againſt him, might ſtill retain ſome of their former inclinations; it was reſolved, that the King, with his brothers, ſhould lodge at the houſe of Col. Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rocheſter. Many Knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be ſeen in great numbers on the road; the inconſtant multitude in ſome places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath; and by the beſt judges was thought to deſerve the fool's coat, rather than the ſoldier's caſque.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the city, treated their King with a collation under a tent placed in St. George's fields: and 5 or 600 citizens clothed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common council, attended on the triumph of that day; with much more empty pageantry, which I purpoſely omit. But I muſt not paſs over the folly and inſolence manifeſted at that time by thoſe who had been ſo often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the ſoldiery to ride with ſwords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the way; and intimating, as was ſuppoſed, a reſolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud.

The Lords, with thoſe who ſat in the houſe of Commons, received the King at Whitehall, after this tedious cavalcade; where the Speakers of both houſes loaded him with compliments; and took the beſt care they could to make him believe himſelf to be the beſt, greateſt, and braveſt prince in the whole world. His anſwer to them was ſhort, by reaſon, as he ſaid, of his preſent diſcompoſure, cauſed by the great acclamations he had received in his paſſage; which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were expreſſions of the affections of his people.

Moſt of thoſe who had attended this entry, finding the ſtreets through which they had paſſed to be full of people, returned to the city by the way of Holborn; by which means I had a view of them from the houſe where I then was. And I confeſs it was a ſtrange ſight to me, to ſee the horſe that had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment ſo different from that which they had at firſt undertaken; eſpecially when I conſidered, that for the moſt part they had not been raiſed out of the meaneſt of the people, and without diſtinction, as other armies had been; but that they conſiſted of ſuch as had engaged themſelves from a ſpirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion. But having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwel, and kept up as a ſtanding force againſt the people, they had forgotten their firſt engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accuſtomed to be.

The diſſolution and drunkenneſs of that night was ſo great and ſcandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with ſuch diſorders for many years paſt, that the King, who ſtill ſtood in need of the Preſbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their ſatisfaction cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, forbidding the drinking of healths. But reſolving, for his own part, to be obliged to no rule of any kind, he publicly violated his own order in a few days, at a debauch in the Mulberry garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmoſt exceſs till two in the morning.

The bill of indemnity being not yet finiſhed, the Commons, out of a tender care for their own perſons and eſtates, reſolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination of the ſeven perſons who were to be excepted for condemning the late King to death; and having agreed that Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, John Liſle, Eſq; and William Say, Eſq; ſhould be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter ſhould be brought to Monk at that inſtant, (not without ſuſpicion that he was the author of the deſign, to the end I might be inſerted), informing him, that I was in arms at the head of ſeveral hundred men, in one of the iſlands called the *Holmes*, and had declared againſt this convention. The letter being communicated to the houſe, who were ready to give credit to any thing of that nature, had probably anſwered the end of the contrivers of this deſign, if ſomething, of which I was not informed, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet, upon this alarm, one of my friends in this houſe, who had ſerved in the King's army, and to whom I had been formerly uſeful at the time of his compoſition, came in a great ſurpriſe to one that was his ſiſter-in-law, and alſo related to me, acquainting her with the report; and telling her, that he had engaged many members that were of the King's party, to be for me; but that if this ſhould prove to be true, neither they nor he could poſſibly ſerve me: and therefore deſired her to give me notice with all diligence of what had paſſed, that I might take ſome courſe to ſatisfy the parliament of the falſhood of this rumour. She promiſed him to endeavour ſo to do; and in the mean time aſſured him, that ſhe knew the report to be falſe. Upon this aſſurance, which he immediately reported to the party above mentioned, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to paſs, that when they proceeded to complete the number of ſeven, who were to be excepted both for life and eſtate, and had agreed that Col. John Jones, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Thomas Scot, ſhould be added to the three before mentioned; a motion being made by one Col. Skipwith, that I might be the ſeventh man, he was not ſeconded. So that another member propoſing Col. Barkſtead, and no man daring to ſay any thing either in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the perſons concerned, he was voted to fill up the number. Chief Juſtice Coke, who had been Solicitor to the high court of juſtice, Mr. Broughton, who had been clerk, and Mr. Edward Dendy their Serjeant at Arms, were alſo excepted in the ſame manner. And that no means of gratifying the paſſions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that ſome of the late King's judges were fled, ordered their eſtates to be ſeized; it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the houſe, that a petition ſhould be drawn, and preſented to the King, to iſſue out a proclamation for requiring all thoſe of the late King's judges, and others therein named, to ſurrender themſelves within the ſpace of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act, both for life and eſtate.

This petition having had its riſe from the court, and on that account received with joy by the King, ſoon produced a proclamation as had been deſired; which being publiſhed near my lodgings, I heard the officer diſtinctly as he read it aloud to the people. But I found it difficult to reſolve what to do: for though the meſſage from Breda had declared the King would be ſatisfied, if ſome few perſons, who had an immediate hand in the death of his father, might be excepted from the indemnity; yet, finding himſelf now poſſeſſed of the throne, it was viſible to all men, that he uſed the utmoſt of his endeavours to influence the houſe of Commons to greater ſeverities than were at firſt pretended; and, partly for rapine, partly for revenge, to except a great number of thoſe who had taken part with the parliament, from any benefit of the act, except only as to life, their eſtates

ſtates being declared to be confiſcated to the King. Among thoſe who appeared the moſt baſely ſubſervient to theſe exorbitancies of the court, Mr. William Prynn was ſingularly remarkable; bringing in a clauſe for excepting all thoſe who had taken the oath at the council of ſtate for abjuring the family of the Stuarts: which the clerk undertaking to read without any order of the houſe, Mr. Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, perceiving that Vice-Adm. Lawſon would by this means be excluded from pardon, and knowing that Monk had engaged to bring him off clear, moſt ſharply rebuked the clerk for his officiouſneſs; and, with the help of his friends, put a ſtop to that motion.

The Commons being acquainted by Sir Harbottle Grimeſton their Speaker, that Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and others of the late King's judges, had rendered themſelves into his hands, according to the late proclamation, ordered them to be in the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the houſe. Which when ſome of my friends and relations heard, they conſulted what might be beſt for me to do in this conjuncture. Some were of opinion I ſhould ſurrender myſelf, as others had done: others were unwilling to adviſe in a caſe wherein my life was concerned; yet gave ſome obſcure intimation, that if they were in my condition, they would not put themſelves into the hands of their enemies: and one of them, who was not unacquainted with the public affairs, gave it for his opinion, that I ſhould by no means render myſelf. Of this I received an account by my wife. But not being in the number of the ſeven who were to be excepted, and

my affairs, by reaſon of the ſudden change, altogether unſettled, I was willing to improve the preſent opportunity; and if I might have no favour in relation to my eſtate, yet to ſettle at leaſt my private affairs as well as I could. To this end, I inclined to ſurrender myſelf according to the proclamation; and drew up a petition, containing in ſubſtance, "That whereas I had en-
" gaged with the parliament on the behalf of
" the commonwealth, and had diſcharged the
" truſt repoſed in me with as much tenderneſs
" to thoſe of the contrary party as my fidelity
" to the parliament would permit; Providence
" having ordered, that the former government
" ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in this nation, I
" thought it my duty, as a member of the
" commonwealth, to declare my reſolution to
" ſubmit to the preſent powers, that I might
" with the reſt of the good people of England
" enjoy the benefit of their protection." Having ſigned this paper, and preſuming upon the friendſhip of Mr. Anneſley, I ſent it to him by my wife, deſiring his advice. But he being lately ſworn a privy counſellor, and with his condition altering his manners, when he had peruſed the paper, he delivered it again to my wife, and ſaid, That the Lieutenant-General was very good at drawing letters of recommendation. My wife told him, That what was contained in that paper, was as much as my conſcience would give me leave to ſay; and received for anſwer, That then I ſhould do better to ſay nothing; which was not altogether without reaſon; for ſome of thoſe who had petitioned the houſe, and not acknowledged themſelves guilty of a fault, were, for that cauſe, excepted, who otherwiſe,

as men thought, would not have been ſo treated.

There being ſome relation between the Earl of Ormond and me, I directed my wife to apply herſelf to him on this occaſion. He received her with great civilities, and made her large promiſes; preſſing her, with great importunity, to acquaint him, if I were in England. But ſhe deſired to be excuſed in that particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any perſon in ſuch a conjuncture. In the mean time, my friend, whom I mentioned before, continued to adviſe, that I ſhould not by any means render myſelf; affirming, that the houſe of Lords would not fail to make ſome addition to the exceptions; and that ſome of them had intimated that I was likely to be one. Being not a little ſurpriſed with this information, though the reaſons above mentioned inclined me to ſurrender myſelf, yet I was unwilling to expoſe my life to the fancies of ſuch an uncertain ſort of men: and therefore, by my direction, my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimeſton, and acquainted him with the ſtate of my affairs, and the doubts which I lay under. Of which he ſeemed very ſenſible, communicating his thoughts very freely to her; and telling her, that it was his opinion the Lords would reſt ſatisfied with what had been done; but if they ſhould not, it would be the moſt horrid thing in the world, ſhould the houſe of Commons agree with them in excepting any man who had rendered himſelf: but withal acquainted her, that the houſe was ſo compoſed, that no man could undertake to tell what they would not do: adding, That he ſhould dine that day with Mr. Hollis, and other leading men of the parliament;

ment; and that he would inform himſelf from them touching that particular, of which he would then give her the beſt advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my wife went to him again; and was informed by him, that he had been with that company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of opinion, that the houſe would never be guilty of ſo unworthy an action; and therefore adviſed her to perſuade me to come in; giving her an order under his hand to ſecure me from any ſeizure in my way to him, and promiſing to ſpeak to the Serjeant at Arms to be moderate in his demands of caution for my appearance. Under the favour of this warrant, I went to a place where divers of my friends were, in order to ſeal ſome writings for ſettling my private affairs; which was the principal motive that had prevailed with me to render myſelf: and having diſpatched that buſineſs, I went to the Speaker's chamber; who being not there, I took Mr. James Herbert, a member of the convention, with me to the houſe of the Serjeant at Arms; where finding that he had received orders from Sir Harbottle Grimeſton concerning me, Mr. Herbert gave his word for my appearance, till I ſhould procure perſonal ſecurity. This engagement made me very uneaſy; for I thought myſelf obliged, whatever might become of me, to take care that Mr. Herbert might not ſuffer for his friendſhip to me. But, after two or three days, I prevailed with the Serjeant to accept the ſecurity I had provided. They were, my uncle, Col. Thomas Stradling, who had been conſtantly of the King's party; and by being engaged for ſome debts of his brother Sir

Edward Stradling, had ruined his fortune: the ſecond was Col. Edward Sutton, one knighted by the King ſince his return, and who had no other eſtate than in the right of his wife: the third was one Mr. Etherington, who had been poſſeſſor of a conſiderable eſtate; but for many years paſt had not been worth any thing: the fourth was Thomas Aſhton, a citizen of London, who had been my taylor; but was now in the ſame condition with Mr. Etherington. Col. Sutton was arreſted as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. Etherington, being furniſhed with a clean band, hat, and cloak, paſſed without diſpute; ſo did Aſhton; and of Col. Stradling there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two firſt a little money, with which they were well pleaſed; and I was abundantly ſatisfied that this buſineſs paſſed thus over.

When Sir Harbottle Grimeſton had reported to the houſe that I had rendered myſelf, and deſired to know their pleaſure concerning me; ſome of my friends moved, that I might be continued in the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; which being put to the queſtion, was accordingly ordered. Whilſt theſe things were doing, my Lady Vane told my wife, that Mrs. Monk had ſaid, ſhe would go upon her knees to the King, and beg, that Sir Henry Vane, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and Lt-Gen. Ludlow, might die without mercy: and one of my friends, who frequented the court, aſſured me, he heard Monk ſaying to the King, That there was not a man in the three nations more violent againſt him, or more dangerous to his intereſts than I was; to which the King made anſwer, That he had been otherwiſe informed by many of his party, who had received civilities from me in their troubles. But that which made me moſt ſenſible of my danger, was, that Secretary Maurice, with whom I had been acquainted for ſome time, not knowing that I had rendered myſelf to the Speaker, told a perſon whom he knew to be my friend, that where-ever I was, I ſhould do well to be upon my guard; for if I ſhould be taken, I was a dead man.

Some members of this convention, who had engaged to do me all the good offices they could, preſuming the houſe would proceed forthwith to impoſe certain fines upon thoſe of the late King's judges who had rendered themſelves; and therefore deſiring to ſee a particular of my eſtate, that they might know how to moderate my fine when it ſhould be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that diſtance from my papers, and ſent it to them. And now my friends ſuppoſing my buſineſs to go on proſperouſly in the houſe of Commons, began to apply themſelves to the Lords on my behalf, in caſe they ſhould add any farther exceptions to the bill of indemnity; and received promiſes of aſſiſtance from all they thought fit to aſk, except only the Earl of Northampton; who ſaid to my wife's father, that I had been a great enemy to the King. However, I made the beſt uſe I could of this time in ſettling my private affairs. And my brother Kempſon had prevailed with my Lord Broghill to write to Sir Charles Coote, that my ſtock might be delivered to him upon ſecurity to be reſponſible where it ſhould be adjudged to belong. But Coote was ſo far from ſatisfying either his own conſcience or the Lord Broghill in this matter, that, fearing I might be in a condition to

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call him to account for the injuſtice he had done to me, he wrote a letter to the King, in which having firſt inveighed againſt me as the moſt bitter of all his enemies, he informed him, That dining with me one day at my houſe, I had aſſured him, that Cromwel had not proceeded to extremities againſt the late King, if I had not preſſed him, and almoſt forced him to that reſolution: and for confirmation of the truth of this, he deſired that the Lord Broghill, who, he ſaid, had dined with me the ſame day, might be interrogated. But when the King aſked my Lord Broghill concerning this buſineſs, he proteſted, he had not charged his memory with any ſuch thing; adding, that he thought it unbecoming a man of honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a Gentleman who had ſpoken freely at his own table.

The army being not yet diſbanded, the King thought convenient in ſome meaſure ſtill to cajole the Preſbyterian party; and therefore Mr. Richard Baxter and Mr. Edmund Calamy were appointed to be his chaplains in ordinary. But he could not forbear, on ſome occaſions, to diſcover his contempt of the men of that ſort; particularly when Mr. Caſe, who thought he had deſerved highly of the King, would have preſſed with his uſual freedom into his preſence; and being denied entrance, had ſent in his name; though, in anſwer to his importunity, he was admitted; yet, by the carriage of thoſe who were preſent, and derided his habit, and unmannerly way of approaching the King, he might eaſily perceive how diſagreeable his company was in that place. Yet the King having demanded what he had to ſay, he told him, he had a word of advice

vice to his Majeſty; and going on to perſuade him to a care of his party, he was interrupted by the King, who ſaid he did not remember that he had made him one of his council. However, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Mancheſter, the Lord Robartes, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, were ſworn of his privy council; and the Earl of Manceſter made Chamberlain of the Houſhold. But Monk, for a reward of his treachery to thoſe who had intruſted him, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the forces; and obtained the parchment-honour of Duke of Albemarle, with divers penſions and lands of great value. To theſe favours was added the charge of Maſter of the Horſe; which, by the induſtry of his wife, who having been an exchange-woman knew how to drive a bargain, was by the ſale of places improved to the utmoſt advantage.

Having acquainted thoſe who had anſwered for my appearance at the time when they entered into that obligation, of my intentions to withdraw myſelf, if I ſhould find my life in danger; I took care at all times when the houſe was ſitting, leſt I ſhould be ſurpriſed and ſeized by an order from them, to cauſe the gates of my houſe, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the moſt part retired to ſome other place during that time. When the houſe was up, I uſed to take more liberty, having daily advice from ſome members of what had paſſed among them.

The bill of indemnity being brought to the Lords, a great contention aroſe concerning the number of perſons to be excepted; the widow of Dr. Hewet, with Mrs. Penruddock, and divers others ſoliciting them with ſuch importunity for particular ſatisfaction, on account of their relations who had been put to death, that they found themſelves obliged to appoint a committee to hear their demands. The Lords alſo were inclined to revenge their own order on the perſons of ſome in the high court of juſtice, by whom ſome of their number had been condemned, and to except one of the judges for every Lord they had put to death; the nomination of the perſon to be excepted being referred to that Lord who was moſt nearly related to the perſon that had ſuffered. According to this rule, Col. Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the Earl of Derby, Maj. Waring by the kinſman of another, and Col. Titchburn by a third. The Earl of Denbigh, whoſe ſiſter had been married to the Duke of Hamilton, being deſired by the Lords to nominate one to be excepted, in ſatisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, named a perſon who had been ſome time dead; of which ſome of the houſe being informed, they called upon him to name another; but he ſaid, that ſince it had ſo fallen out, he deſired to be excuſed from naming any more. This action, though ſeeming to proceed from chance, was generally eſteemed to have been voluntary; the Earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man, and a lover of his country.

And now the Royal party in the houſe of Lords began to diſcover their intentions to except all the King's judges from the benefit of the indemnity; which was communicated to me by Sir John Winter, Secretary to the Queen-mother, in a viſit he made me at my houſe. He alſo informed me, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, and the Marquis of Argyll, had been ſeized, and ſent to the Tower, by the King's order. In concluſion, he ſaid, That whilſt the King was treating with Monk about his reſtitution, and conſidering that I was then at the head of the parliament's forces in Ireland, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter, than how to prevent me from obſtructing the deſign; and that he would have given me any conditions, to have been aſſured of my ſervice: from all which conſiderations, he adviſed me rather to withdraw myſelf, than to ſubmit to the mercy of my enemies.

Col. Ingoldſby, on account of his ſervice in the ſuppreſſion of the party that had followed Maj.-Gen. Lambert, was not excepted from the act; nor Col. Hutchinſon, though he had been as zealous againſt the late King at the time of his trial, as any other of his judges. But having joined with Monk in his treacherous deſign, he had obtained a pardon from the King, whilſt he was beyond ſea. It was agreed in the houſe, That Col. Adrian Scroop and Col. Laſcelles ſhould have the benefit of the act, paying one year's value of their eſtates. Maj. Liſter was not inſerted, as was ſuppoſed by the credit and intereſt of Mr. William Pierpoint; and Col. Thomlinſon was excuſed, upon information given to the houſe by Mr. Seymour, that the late King, when he waited on him a day or two before he ſuffered, ſignified to him his pleaſure, that the Colonel ſhould receive favour on account of his civil carriage to him during his confinement. But the ſon would not think this to be ſufficient for his exemption; declaring to ſome about him, that he ought of all men to be excepted, becauſe he had an opportunity, and a fair offer to let his father eſcape, which he refuſed. On this ground the Earl of Litchfield moved for his exception. But the Earl of Briſtol being engaged for Thomlinſon, and preſuming to be better acquainted with the King's intentions, undertook to reprove the Earl of Litchfield ſo ſharply, that the diſpute had almoſt ended in a quarrel.

Theſe conteſtations and delays in finiſhing the act of indemnity and oblivion, made the people not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that nature would be paſſed for their ſecurity; eſpecially, after the Earl of Briſtol had made a ſpeech in the houſe of Lords, which, according to his manner of oſtentation, he cauſed to be printed; where, after much boaſting of his important employments abroad, he deſired that the act might paſs with the exception only of thoſe who had a hand in the death of the King, who, he moved, might be more particularly deſcribed in another bill to be drawn for that purpoſe. By which no man could know whether he intended not, that not only his judges, and the members who ſat after the year 1648, with thoſe who petitioned for juſtice againſt him, but even all thoſe who had in any way contributed to make war for the parliament, ſhould be excepted. But the court having not yet diſbanded the army, would not venture too far in irritating the people; and therefore preſſed that the bill might be haſtened to a concluſion.

Great endeavours were uſed by the friends of thoſe who had been excepted in the houſe of Commons, to procure them to be omitted by the Lords. And the Earl of Litchfield ſoliciting the Lord Sturton for his vote in the behalf of Lt.-Gen. Fleetwood, received his promiſe to that effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like occaſion. Of this the Lord Sturton informed me in a viſit he and his lady were pleaſed to make me in that conjuncture.

Having obſerved which way the Lords inclined, I drew up the ſtate of the caſe, as well as I could, of thoſe who had rendered themſelves upon the proclamation, accompanied with ſuch reaſons as then occurred to my thoughts, why the houſe of Commons ſhould not agree to any enlargement of the exceptions made by them. This paper I deſigned for the preſs; but having ſent it to Mr. Henry Martin for his opinion, he returned for anſwer, That unleſs my name were ſubſcribed, the houſe of Lords would not fail to call it a libel; and therefore adviſed that it ſhould be preſented in the form of a petition. Upon which I laid it aſide.

Divers meſſages were ſent from Whitehall by Hyde and others to the Lords, for the diſpatch of the bill; but meeting with little ſucceſs, by reaſon of many obſtructions that were continually laid in the way, the King came in perſon to the houſe, and preſſed them to expedition; thanking the Lords for excepting thoſe who had been the judges of the King his father, "who, " he ſaid, were guilty of ſuch a crime, that they " could not pardon themſelves, much leſs ex" pect it from others." By which he not only manifeſted his own revengeful temper, and the little regard he had to the promiſe he had made in his proclamation from Breda, to refer himſelf wholly to the parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late troubles; but his imprudence, in this ſo early violation of the privileges of the parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two houſes, before it came to be judicially preſented to him; and by that means fomenting a diviſion between them concerning an affair in which he himſelf was principally intereſted. He told them, "Other ways might be found to meet with thoſe "who were of turbulent and factious ſpirits;" Inſinuating, if I miſtake not, that his intentions were not to be guided by the direction of the laws, but that he had ſome ſecret reſerves to render the act of indemnity inſignificant; concluding with deſires, that they would be careful to make proviſion for his Iriſh ſubjects, who had manifeſted great affection to him during his exile; expreſſing the ſame zeal in the latter part of his ſpeech for the bloody Iriſh rebels, as he had done in the former, againſt thoſe who had dared to defend the liberties of England. And by this means the Iriſh grew immediately to that confidence, that one Fitzharris publicly affirmed in Weſtminſter-hall, that they were the beſt ſubjects the King had; and for that reaſon ſhould be ſoon reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands. Of which the houſe being informed, they committed him to the Gate-houſe; but, after two days, he was by the prevalency of the court-faction diſcharged from his impriſonment.

The King, who had not only an inclination to re-eſtabliſh the Iriſh in their eſtates, but had, by a treaty formerly made with them, obliged himſelf to that condition, found no ſmall difficulty to carry fair with thoſe of the army who were concerned in the confiſcated lands. He was not willing to ſend any one into that government, who ſhould be ungrateful to the Iriſh; and durſt not employ ſuch as he and they deſired,

ſired, for fear of the Engliſh. For an expedient, therefore, it was propoſed that the Lord Robartes ſhould be ſent as deputy to Monk, who when he contracted to ſell his maſters, had deſired the Lieutenancy of Ireland for himſelf: but being told, that if he would have that employment, he muſt go over and execute it in his own perſon; he thought not convenient to accept it on thoſe terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to ſupplant and ruin him in his abſence. However, the Lord Robartes had the title of Deputy, and was addreſſed by that name; but finding he had only ſerved for a preſent occaſion, he deſired to be recalled from that employment.

Finding my friends to grow every day more apprehenſive of the dangers that threatened me, I removed from my houſe; and on this occaſion received a ſignal teſtimony of the friendſhip of Chief Juſtice Coke; who, being little ſolicitous for himſelf, ſolemnly proteſted in a meſſage he ſent me, That if he were in no hazard on this occaſion, he would willingly lay down his life to ſecure mine, who, he was pleaſed to ſay, might be more uſeful to the public than he could hope to be.

The Earl of Antrim, an Iriſh Papiſt, and principally concerned in the rebellion of that country, had been ſeized at the ſame time with the Marquis of Argyll, though for a different reaſon; the latter for his ſervices in the cauſe of liberty and religion; the former for unſeaſonably affirming, that the Iriſh were authoriſed by the late King to act as they had done. Both theſe Lords coming to London to congratulate the reſtitution of the King, were ſent to the

Tower. The Laird of Swinton was alſo made priſoner, and ſent in cuſtody to the ſame place. The cauſe of his ſeizure was at firſt reported to be for deſigning to ſtab the King, as he was pretending to cure the diſeaſe called *the King's evil.* But afterwards they changed their language; and gave out, that it was for deſerting the Scots after the battle of Dunbar, and rendering himſelf to Oliver Cromwel. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haſlerig were alſo ſeized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to perſuade divers officers of the army to form a party, in order to oppoſe the preſent power. But this ſoon appeared to be a fiction; and that the deſign was, to take away their lives by any means; the King, when he heard they were in cuſtody, offering to lay a wager they ſhould not eſcape. Col. Axtel, who had behaved himſelf honeſtly and bravely in the ſervice of the commonwealth, was about the ſame time trepanned by a cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the purchaſe of ſome lands, and ſent priſoner to the Tower.

The Lords being preſſed, as I mentioned before, to diſpatch the act of indemnity, came at laſt to this reſult, touching the twenty perſons propoſed by the Commons to be excepted from all other benefit of the act, except only as to life, That Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and Col. Axtel, ſhould be excepted both as to life and eſtate; the other ſixteen to be made incapable of any office or employment in church or ſtate. The news of this reſolution being carried to the King by the Duke of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and Monk, he openly expreſſed his joy; and when they told him, that the Chief Juſtice St. John's had narrowly eſcaped, he wiſhed he had been added alſo. Of which particulars I received information by a perſon of honour then preſent, immediately after they had parted.

The next thing to be conſidered, was, how to treat thoſe of the late King's judges who had rendered themſelves upon the proclamation; which held no long debate; thoſe who were inclined to do that which was juſt, decent, and reaſonable, being far the leſſer number. Yet the Earl of Southampton had the courage to move, That, ſince it was not thought fit to ſecure the lives of thoſe who had been induced to ſurrender their perſons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at leaſt to give them the like number of days for ſaving themſelves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in. But Finch, who had formerly fled from the juſtice of the parliament, oppoſed that motion; and ſaid, that, by ſuch means, they might be enabled to do more miſchief, (as he knew had happened in his own caſe). Upon this, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, with thoſe of the judges who had rendered themſelves, were put into the exception for life and eſtate. Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Robert Wallop, the Lord Monſon, Sir James Harrington, Mr. James Chaloner, and Mr. John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their eſtates, and ſubjected to ſuch farther puniſhments as ſhould be inflicted upon them; their lives only to be preſerved. Col. Hacker, who was one of thoſe to whom the warrant of the high court of juſtice, for the execution of the King, had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two perſons who were in maſk upon the ſcaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the Lords both for life and eſtate.

The bill, with theſe alterations, being ſent down to the houſe of Commons for their concurrence, they ſeemed unwilling to ſacrifice thoſe, who, upon invitation and promiſe of favour, had rendered themſelves; and therefore refuſed to conſent to the exception of Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Vane, and Maj.-Gen. Lambert, from the benefit of the act as to their lives; ſome of them ſaying in the houſe, that thoſe Gentlemen having had no immediate hand in the death of the King, there was as much reaſon to except moſt of themſelves. Yet they agreed to except Col. Daniel Axtel, Mr. Hugh Peters, and the reſt as deſired. And, to ſhew their readineſs to gratify the revenge of thoſe at the helm with the blood of as many as they could find any colour to abandon, being informed, that Mr. John Carew, who had not at all concealed himſelf, had been ſeized by a warrant from a Juſtice of the Peace; that his name being miſtaken in the warrant, and the officer refuſing to detain him till that error ſhould be amended, Mr. Carew had told him, that he was, as he conceived, the perſon deſigned to be ſeized, and therefore acquainted him with the place to which he was going; yet, for all this, (though happening within the fourteen days limited by the proclamation, and on the way to London, where ſuch perſons were directed to render themſelves), the major part of the houſe of Commons voted this not to be a ſurrender, and excepted him both in life and eſtate. Mr. Gregory Clement being already a priſoner in the Tower, was put into the ſame condition. And Col. Adrian Scroop, though he had rendered himſelf within the time limited by the proclamation, and though the Commons had declared themſelves contented with the forfeiture of a year's value of his eſtate; yet, upon information from that renegado Brown, of ſome private diſcourſe between them, in which the Colonel, as he ſaid, had juſtified the part he had in doing juſtice upon the late King, they condemned him without a hearing; and added him to the exception, both in reſpect to life and eſtate: An action of ſuch a nature, that I ſhall forbear to give it the name it deſerves. But the King not ſatisfied with theſe ſacrifices, greedy of revenge, and forgetting his meſſage from Breda, encouraged his creatures in the houſe of Lords to inſiſt upon their exceptions. But the Commons being averſe to break the public faith in every particular, a conference of both houſes was appointed; in which ſome of the lower houſe preſſing the promiſe of the proclamation, the Chancellor preſumed to affirm, That the proclamation was only in the nature of a *ſubpœna*. But the Commons were not ſatisfied with this definition.

Having received advice from divers perſons of honour, that the court was enraged that I had not been excepted; and that Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower, had declared his reſolution to move the houſe, that their priſoners in the Serjeant's cuſtody might be committed to the Tower; my ſervants having alſo acquainted me, that the Serjeant had endeavoured to inform himſelf if I continued ſtill at my houſe, I reſolved not to appear any more in public: and, having the offer of a houſe near Richmond for my retirement, I went down thither; where I paſſed ſome days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the park. Having one day made an excurſion as far as Maj.-Gen. Lambert's houſe at Wimbleton, I perceived words to this effect written on the outſide of a banqueting-houſe, "The way to ruin enemies, is to divide their counſels;" which leſſon had he practiſed, the confuſions brought upon the nation had poſſibly been avoided.

During theſe conteſts between the two houſes touching the exceptions to be made, Sir John Bourchier, who had been one of the King's judges, and had rendered himſelf within the time limited by the proclamation, being of a great age, and very infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private houſe belonging to one of his daughters. In this place he was ſeized with ſo dangerous a fit of illneſs, that thoſe about him, who were his neareſt relations, deſpairing of his recovery, and preſuming, that an acknowledgment from him of his ſorrow for the part he had in the condemnation of the King, might tend to procure ſome favour to them from thoſe in power, they earneſtly preſſed him to give them that ſatisfaction. But he being highly diſpleaſed with their requeſt, roſe ſuddenly from his chair, which for ſome days he had not been able to do without aſſiſtance; and, receiving freſh vigour from the memory of that action, ſaid, "I tell you, it was a juſt act. God, and "all good men, will own it." And, having thus expreſſed himſelf, he ſat down again, and ſoon after quietly ended his life.

The court-party among the Commons, though they could not bring the houſe to an entire violation of the public faith; yet ſo far prevailed, that they conſented to ſacrifice the eſtate and liberty of Sir Arthur Haſlerig; and that Sir Henry Vane, with Maj.-Gen. Lambert, ſhould be excepted both for life and eſtate; with this reſerve, That if, upon trial, they ſhould be found guilty, the two houſes then to join in a petition to the King for the pardon of their lives. But the Lords finding they could not bring the Commons to a full compliance in the matter of exceptions, deſired another conference; which being agreed, the Chancellor, after he had endeavoured to perſuade them, that the difference between the two houſes was rather in form than ſubſtance, offered for an expedient, that no ſentence to be pronounced againſt any of thoſe that had been added by the Lords, ſhould be executed otherwiſe than by act of parliament; telling them, he aſſured himſelf they would accept this propoſition; and hoped alſo, that none of the King's judges, who, after their ſurrender, might withdraw themſelves from their protection, ſhould participate of this favour: which laſt clauſe I took to be particularly levelled at me; having been informed, that the Serjeant's deputy, attended with ſoldiers, had very lately ſearched my houſe.

At laſt the Commons, partly from inclination, and partly for their own ſafety, conſented to paſs the alterations as they had been made by the Lords, (or rather by the King): which buſineſs being over, the houſe ordered the Serjeant at Arms to deliver thoſe of the King's judges who were in his cuſtody, into the hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were, Col. Adrian Scroop, Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. George Fleetwood, Col. James Temple, Mr. Peter Temple, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Simon Mayne, Col. Thomas Wayt, Col. John Downs, Col. Vincent Potter, Mr. Henry Martin, Col. Edmund Harvey, Alderman Iſaac Pennington, Mr. Gilbert Millington, Col. Robert Lilburn, Mr. Auguſtine Garland, and Col. Owen Rowe. Sir Hardreſs Waller, who had been in France, returned to England upon the proclamation, and rendered himſelf; but finding his ſurrender not like to anſwer his expectation, he had withdrawn, together with Alderman Titchburn, from the Serjeant at Arms; yet, upon farther conſideration, they both came in. So that, when, by order of the houſe, the Serjeant was called to give an account of his priſoners, and had acquainted them that I was not to be found, a motion was made to add my name to thoſe who were excepted, both for life and eſtate: but one Mr. Swanton, a member of this houſe, and my countryman, moving, that before they ſhould proceed to extremities, they would examine the bond I had given for my appearance, to ſee if I had broken the condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping, that, by this ſeeming gentleneſs, I might be perſuaded to ſubmit.

Information of theſe things being ſent to me by the above mentioned Mr. Swanton, and Col. Henley, who was alſo a member, I repaired privately to London, in order to conſult with ſome friends touching the courſe I ſhould take in this conjuncture. Upon which my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimeſton, then Speaker of the houſe; and finding him ſtill to perſiſt in his advice for my ſurrender, ſhe took the liberty to ſay, That ſhe apprehended great danger in that counſel;

becauſe ſhe thought thoſe, who, to gratify the court, had already ſo far receded from their own reſolutions, and permitted that perſons who had tendered themſelves upon the faith of the late proclamation, ſhould be excepted both as to life and eſtate, though with the limitation mentioned, might juſtly be ſuſpected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to conſent, that, after they ſhould be declared guilty, an act might paſs for putting the ſentence in execution. But though it were ſuppoſed, that this houſe would never be induced to ſuch an action; yet they might be diſſolved, and the perſons excepted kept in priſon, till ſuch ſhould be procured to ſit in that place who would not be ſo ſcrupulous; eſpecially ſince it was viſible, that the clauſe of limitation was ſo doubtful, that it might afford a pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any parliament that ſhould think fit to uſe their power againſt the perſons excepted. The Speaker ſeemed much offended with this diſcourſe; and, going down the ſtairs with her, told her, he would waſh his hands of my blood; by aſſuring her, that if I would ſurrender myſelf, my life would be as ſafe as his own; but if I refuſed to hearken to his advice, and ſhould happen to be ſeized, I was like to be the firſt man they would execute, and ſhe to be left the pooreſt widow in England. But another of my friends, who was well acquainted with the deſigns of the court, and had all along adviſed me not to truſt their favour, now repeated his perſuaſions to withdraw out of England; aſſuring, that if I ſtaid, I was loſt: and that the ſame fate attended Sir Henry Vane, and others, notwithſtanding all engagements to the contrary. He added, that there was a deſign on foot to ſeize the eſtates of all thoſe who had been outlawed in the late King's time; of which number my father having been one, it would be difficult for me to eſcape ruin on that account. This advice of my friend, whom I had always found to be entirely ſincere, and knew to be well informed of affairs, was of great weight to induce me to reſolve upon departing from England. In which reſolution I was confirmed by the friendly counſel of the Lord Oſſory, eldeſt ſon to the Marquis of Ormond; who, with divers others that had obſerved the inconſtancy and irreſolution, to ſay no worſe, of thoſe in the houſe of Commons, in ſacrificing Mr. Carew and Col. Scroop to the revenge of the enemy, concurred in giving the ſame advice.

The time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had ſettled my affairs in the beſt manner I could, and taken leave of my deareſt friends and relations, I went into a coach about the cloſe of the day; and paſſing through the city over London-bridge to St. George's church in Southwark, I found a perſon ready to receive me with two horſes; one of which I mounted, and began my journey. My guide was ſo well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the conſiderable towns on the road, where we ſuſpected any ſoldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewis without interruption. On the Tueſday following, a ſmall veſſel being prepared for my tranſportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard, and the veſſel having no deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a merchant of Lewis, and was ſtruck upon the ſands as ſhe was falling down to receive me. This veſſel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwel ſome weeks before, and lay very commodiouſly for my ſafety on that occaſion: for after I had entered into her to ſecure myſelf from the weather, till I might put to ſea in the other, the ſearchers came on board my ſmall veſſel to ſee what ſhe carried; omitting to ſearch that in which I was, not ſuſpecting any perſon or thing to be in her, becauſe ſhe was ſtruck upon the ſands. But the ſtorm ſtill continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to ſea, we continued in the harbour all that day, and the night following. The maſter, who had uſed the ports of Ireland whilſt I had been in that country, among other things, inquired if Lt-Gen. Ludlow were not impriſoned with the reſt of the King's judges: to which I anſwered, That I had not heard of any ſuch thing.

The next morning we ſet ſail, and had the wind ſo favourable, that we arrived in the harbour of Dieppe that evening before the gates were ſhut; where going aſhore, I was conducted by the maſter, to the houſe of one Madame de Caux, to whom I was recommended; where I was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of civility; the Gentlewoman leaving it to my choice, either to continue at her habitation in Dieppe, or to go to her houſe in the country: which laſt I choſe to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the air, as to avoid the Iriſh, who were in great numbers in the town, and who probably might have ſeen me in Ireland when I ſerved the parliament. I had not been many days in this place, when I received letters from

England, with a printed proclamation incloſed, taking notice that I had withdrawn myſelf from the officer's cuſtody, forbidding any perſon to receive or entertain me under pain of high diſpleaſure; requiring all perſons to ſeize and ſecure my perſon, and propoſing the ſum of 300 l. as a reward for thoſe who ſhould perform this ſervice. Theſe letters, accompanied with the earneſt deſires of my friends for my removal to ſome place more diſtant from England, obliged me to think of leaving that place; and accordingly having prepared myſelf for my journey, and taken leave of the good family where I had been ſo kindly received and entertained, I ſet forward for Geneva, and paſſing by Roan, a place of great trade, and the ſeat of one of the French parliaments, I arrived in three days at Paris. In this town I viewed ſuch things as were accounted remarkable, paſſing ſeveral days in this exerciſe. The Louvre ſeemed to me rather like a garriſon than a court, being very full of ſoldiers and dirt. I ſaw the King's ſtable of horſes, which, though not extraordinarily furniſhed, gave me more pleaſure than I ſhould have received by ſeeing their maſter, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miſerable people. But I lothed to ſee ſuch numbers of idle drones, who in ridiculous habits, wherein they place a great part of their religion, are to be ſeen in every part, eating the bread of the credulous multitude, and leaving them to be diſtinguiſhed from the inhabitants of other countries by thin cheeks, canvas cloathing, and wooden ſhoes.

Having made what ſtay I thought neceſſary in Paris, and taken bills of exchange for Geneva, I departed for Lyons, in the company of a German

man Lord; from whom I received great civilities during the journey. Being arrived at Lyons; though the reſt of the company were examined, and obliged to give in their names; yet, by I know not what accident, none of the officers aſked me any queſtion of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to the inn that had been taken up for us; where we were no ſooner entered, than divers friars of different orders crouded in to beg, or rather to command ſomething; one of theſe behaving himſelf in ſo lewd a manner, to a youth who came in our company from Paris, as obliged me to ſhew my reſentment of his impudence. The next day after my arrival at Lyons, I ſet forward for Geneva; continuing my journey without interruption, till I came to the Recluſe, about ſix leagues diſtant from that city; where the King of France keeps a garriſon, becauſe it lies upon his frontier. Here I was informed, that they would examine us ſtrictly, and oblige us to lodge our arms with them; but they only deſired money to drink, which I willingly gave. The ſame day I paſſed the river Rhone; and underſtood that I was then within the territories of Geneva; which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy ſome meaſure of quiet in that free city, and perhaps the ſociety of ſome of my friends and countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been neceſſitated to retire into foreign parts.

At Geneva I took up my lodgings in the houſe of one Monſ. Perrot, who, having ſerved in the army of the parliament, underſtood the Engliſh tongue. And having heard that Mr. William Cawley, an able and ancient member of parliament, had paſſed through part of France, I hoped to find him in this place: but, upon inquiry, I was informed, that there were no Engliſhmen in the town, except one Mr. Felton, and his ſervant. In the houſe where I lodged, the miſtreſs being an Engliſh woman, I found good beer; which was a great refreſhment to me, after the fatigue of my journey, and conſtant uſe of wines, by which my body had been much diſtempered with rheums. The next day after my arrival, I received a bill of exchange, incloſed in a letter from Monſ. Marga, a banker of Paris, for 600 crowns, payable by a merchant of Geneva: but, having a conſiderable ſum remaining of the ſtock I brought with me from London, and received no advice of that ſupply, I writ to Monſ. Marga, to keep the money in his hands till I ſhould receive letters from my friends.

I had not been here many days, before I was informed, that various reports had been raiſed in England concerning me; ſome ſaying, that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my eſcape in a diſguiſe; others, that, upon notice given that I was concealed at the houſe of a country-man, ſome perſons coming to ſeize me, and offering money to that purpoſe, the man of the houſe refuſing the offer, had cauſed me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. Theſe things being believed by many, ſerved to amuſe my enemies; who ſuſpected me to be ſtill in England, and doubting the fidelity of the army, doubled their diligence to find me out. But my friends and relations, being adviſed of my retirement, were not at all diſturbed at their proceedings.

The convention, before their adjournment, had referred to the King the things in diſpute between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian parties; who, in proſecution of their deſires, required them to conſider, how far each party could condeſcend for mutual accommodation. The Preſbyterians finding the tide to be againſt them, agreed with the Biſhops in many particulars; deſiring only to be diſpenſed with in wearing the ſurplice, reading ſome parts of the liturgy, and uſing ſome ceremonies: on which conditions they promiſed to ſubject themſelves to the Biſhops, as ſuperintendants of the church, if ſome Miniſters might be joined with them in the act of ordination. Theſe propoſitions and condeſcenſions being communicated to the Biſhops, and thoſe of the Biſhops to the Preſbyterians, it was ſoon perceived by diſcerning men, that theſe two competitors for eccleſiaſtical power and riches, would not be eaſily brought to agree. However, the King thinking fit to temporiſe as long as the army was on foot, appointed a conference between the diſagreeing parties, at which he was preſent in perſon; where tho' the Biſhops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the King, for the reaſon above mentioned, thought convenient to publiſh a declaration, forbidding the liturgy, ſurplice, and ſome ceremonies, to be impoſed upon thoſe who ſhould be unwilling to uſe them. Which ſhew of moderation took ſo much with the Preſbyterians, who were ready to ſtretch their conſciences to the utmoſt, that they preſented their humble thanks to him for this favour. The like method was obſerved to lay thoſe aſleep who had purchaſed the church-lands, and who promiſed themſelves full ſatisfaction, according to the meſſage from Breda; commiſſioners being appointed for that end. But after they had ſat once or twice, and heard bitter invectives againſt the late ſales, as ſacrilegious, the purchaſers finding them for the moſt part to be of the ſame opinion, were quite diſcouraged from any farther proſecution of that matter.

In the mean time the buſineſs of the country Gentlemen who were members of this convention, was, during their adjournment, to be aſſiſting in the raiſing thoſe great ſums of money they had laid upon the people. For the payment of which, the intended diſbanding of the army afforded a moſt plauſible pretence; that the laws, as they ſaid, might run in their proper channel, without impediment or controul; but indeed that the men in power might deliver themſelves from the fears of thoſe who had reduced the government within its proper channel, and that the word of their King, with the aſſiſtance of an inconſiderate party, might paſs for a law without controul.

The firſt letters I received from England after my arrival at Geneva, informed me, that Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, Mr. John Carew, Chief Juſtice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Scroop, Col. John Jones, Col. Francis Hacker, and Col. Daniel Axtel, being accuſed of having contributed in their ſeveral ſtations to the death of the King, had been condemned and executed. This important buſineſs had been delayed during the time Mr. Love was to continue Sheriff of London; he being no way to be induced, either for fear or hopes, to permit juries to be packed, in order to ſecond the deſigns of the court. But after new Sheriffs had been choſen, more proper

per to ſerve the preſent occaſion, a commiſſion for hearing and determining this matter was directed to thirty four perſons; of whom fifteen had actually engaged for the parliament againſt the late King, either as members of parliament, judges, or officers in their army; moſt, if not all of them, the Lord Mayor excepted, having been put into places of truſt and profit ſince the late revolution.

Col. George Monk being commiſſionated to be of this number, was not aſhamed to ſit among them; any more than Mr. Denzil Hollis, and the Earl of Mancheſter, who having been two of the ſix members deſigned by the late King for deſtruction, before the beginning of the war, and therefore perſonally concerned in the quarrel, had contributed the utmoſt of their endeavours to engage divers of the Gentlemen (upon whom they were now to ſit as judges) on that ſide, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but aſſiſted in condemning them to die for their fidelity to that cauſe which themſelves had betrayed. Mr. Arthur Anneſley, who had been alſo a member of the parliament whilſt they made war againſt the King, was alſo one of this number. Finch, who had been accuſed of high treaſon twenty years before, by a full parliament, and who, by flying from their juſtice, had ſaved his life, was appointed to judge ſome of thoſe who ſhould have been his judges. And Sir Orlando Bridgman, who, upon his ſubmiſſion to Cromwel, had been permitted to practiſe the law in a private manner, and under that colour had ſerved both as ſpy and agent for his maſter, was intruſted with the principal management of this tragical ſcene; and, in his charge to the grand jury, had the aſſurance to tell them, "That no authority, no ſingle per"ſon, or community of men; not the people "collectively or repreſentatively, had any co"ercive power over the King of England." For proof of which aſſertion, he cited Spencer's caſe in the time of Edward II. And after ages may with as much reaſon cite the proceedings of this court for precedents of the ſame kind.

All things being prepared, and the court aſſembled at the ſeſſion-houſe in the Old Bailey, Sir Hardreſs Waller, Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, and Mr. Heveningham, were ordered to be ſet to the bar; where the indictment being read, containing many ſtrange expreſſions, it was contrived, that Sir Hardreſs Waller, who was known to be a man that would ſay any thing to ſave his life, and was prepared to that purpoſe, ſhould be firſt demanded whether he were Guilty, or Not guilty. Which being done, he, after a little ſhifting, according to the expectation of the bench, pleaded Guilty; taking the blood which had been ſhed during his employments in the army upon his own head. But when Maj.-Gen. Harriſon was required to anſwer, he not only pleaded Not guilty, but juſtified the ſentence paſſed upon the King, and the authority of thoſe who had commiſſionated him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witneſſes were produced againſt him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to light; owning his name ſubſcribed to the warrant for executing the King, to be written by himſelf; charging divers of thoſe who ſat on the bench, as his judges, to have been formerly as active for the cauſe in which he had engaged, as himſelf or any other perſon; affirming, that he had not acted by any other motive than the principles of conſcience and juſtice: for proof of which he ſaid it was well known, he had choſen to be ſeparated from his family, and to ſuffer a long impriſonment, rather than to comply with thoſe who had abuſed the power they had aſſumed to the oppreſſion of the people. He inſiſted, that having done nothing in relation to the matter in queſtion, otherwiſe than by the authority of the parliament, he was not juſtly accountable, either to this or any other inferior court; which being a point of law, he deſired to have counſel aſſigned upon that head. But the court over-ruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifeſted a reſolution of gratifying the reſentments of the court upon any terms. So that a haſty verdict was brought in againſt him. And the queſtion being aſked, If he had any thing to ſay why judgment ſhould not paſs? he only ſaid, That, ſince the court had refuſed to hear what was fit for him to ſpeak in his defence, he had no more to ſay. Upon which Bridgman pronounced the ſentence. And, that the inhumanity of theſe men may the better appear, I muſt not omit, that the executioner, in an ugly dreſs, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the Major-General, and continued there during the whole time of his trial. Which action I doubt whether it was ever equalled by the moſt barbarous nations. But having learned to contemn ſuch baſeneſs, after the ſentence had been pronounced againſt him, he ſaid aloud, as he was withdrawing from the court, that he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of the cauſe in which he had been engaged. This ſentence was ſo barbarouſly executed, that he was cut down alive, and ſaw his bowels thrown into the fire.

Mr. John Carew was a Gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, educated in one of the univerſities, and at the inns of court. He had a plentiful eſtate; and being choſen to ſerve in the great parliament, he was elected into the council of ſtate, and employed in many important affairs; in which he ſhewed great ability. He found the ſame uſage from the court as Maj.-Gen. Harriſon had done; being frequently interrupted, and counſel denied, though earneſtly deſired by him, in that point of law touching the authority by which he had acted. When he ſaw that all he could ſay was to no purpoſe, he frankly acknowledged, that he ſat in the high court of juſtice, and had ſigned two warrants; one for ſummoning the court in order to the King's trial, and another for his execution. Upon this the court, who were well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the jury, permitting him to ſpeak, he ſaid, That, in the year 1640, a parliament was called according to the laws and conſtiution of this nation; that ſome differences ariſing between the King and that parliament, the King withdrew his perſon from them; upon which the Lords and Commons declared ———Here the court, being conſcious that their cobweb-coverings were not ſufficient to keep out the light of thoſe truths he was going to produce, contrary to the liberty they had promiſed, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to ſay, tended not only to juſtify the action for which he was accuſed, ſaid, but to caſt a ball of diviſion among thoſe who were preſent. But Mr. Carew going on to ſay, The Lords and Commons by their declaration ——— Judge Foſter interrupted him again, and told him, he endeavoured to revive thoſe differences which he hoped were laid aſleep, and that he did ſo to blow the trumpet of ſedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an act of parliament made by the Commons alone. To this he would have anſwered; but was not permitted to finiſh what he began to ſay, or hardly any one thing he endeavoured to ſpeak in his defence during the whole trial: Mr. Arthur Anneſley particularly charging him with the excluſion of the members in the year 1648, of which number he had been one. To which he only replied, That it ſeemed ſtrange to find a man who ſat as a judge on the bench, to give evidence as a witneſs in the court. Theſe irregular proceedings, unbecoming a court of judicature, obliged Mr. Carew to addreſs himſelf to the jury, leaving them to judge of the legality of his trial; and appealing to their conſciences, whether he had been permitted to make his defence. But they, who were not to be diverted from the reſolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his trial, declared him guilty as he was accuſed.

Col. Adrian Scroop was accuſed for ſitting as one of the judges in the high court of juſtice when the King was brought to anſwer as a priſoner at the bar, for ſigning one warrant for ſummoning that court together, and another for the execution of the King. He denied nothing of this; but pleaded the authority of the parliament in his juſtification: denying that he had been acted by any motive of malice, as the indictment had untruly ſuggeſted; and aſſerting, that in what he had done relating to the King, he had followed the light of his reaſon, and the dictates of his conſcience. At this trial the principal witneſs was that Brown, who, having been Major-General in the ſervice of the parliament, and mentioned already in this work to be of a mercenary ſpirit, was now brought to betray a private converſation; and to depoſe, That talking one day with Col. Adrian Scroop in the Speaker's chamber, and telling him, that the condition of the nation was ſad ſince the murther of the King, the Colonel had anſwered, That men had different opinions touching that matter; and being deſired by the ſaid Brown to explain himſelf, he told him, he ſhould not make him his confeſſor. Though this evidence be in appearance very inſignificant; yet, having influenced the houſe of Commons, as I mentioned before, 'tis not to be admired if it took effect with a jury in an inferior court; who, taking every thing ſaid againſt the perſon accuſed for ſubſtantial proof, made no ſcruple of bringing him in guilty of treaſon.

Mr. Thomas Scot was on the ſame day brought to a trial, or rather to receive the ſentence of condemnation. He was charged with ſitting in the high court of juſtice at the King's trial, with ſigning the two warrants above mentioned, and deſiring, that the following inſcription might be ingraved upon his monument, "Here lies "Thomas Scot, who adjudged the late King "to die." Divers witneſſes were produced to prove theſe things; and among them Mr. William Lenthal, Speaker to the parliament; who, though when the King entered the houſe of Commons, and had demanded of him the five members, he knew how to anſwer, "That he had "neither ears to hear, eyes to ſee, or mouth "to ſpeak, except what the houſe gave," could now appear as evidence againſt Mr. Scot, for words ſpoken in parliament, which he was conſcious to himſelf was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the court, that the perſon accuſed had juſtified in the houſe the proceedings againſt the King. Mr. Scot ſaid in his defence, That whatever had been ſpoken in the houſe, ought not to be given in evidence againſt him, not falling under the cogniſance of any inferior court, as all men knew; that for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the authority of parliament for his juſtification; that the court had no right to declare whether that authority were a parliament or not. And being demanded to produce one inſtance to ſhew that the houſe of Commons was ever poſſeſſed of ſuch an authority, he aſſured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the court, and told that the things of thoſe ages were obſcure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, that he could not ſee for what reaſon it was not as lawful for that houſe of Commons in which he had ſat as a member, to make laws, as for the preſent convention, which had been called by *the authority of the keepers of the liberties of England*. "I had "the authority of parliament, the legiſlative au"thority, to juſtify me"———Here the court interrupted him. But having no reaſons to give, Finch ſaid in a paſſion, "Sir, if you ſpeak to "this purpoſe again, I profeſs for my own part "I dare not hear any more. 'Tis a doctrine "ſo poiſonous and blaſphemous, that if you "proceed upon this point, I ſhall (and I hope "my Lords will be of the ſame opinion) deſire, "that the jury may be immediately directed." Mr. Scot replied, "My Lord, I thought you "would rather have been my counſel, as I think "'tis the duty of your place. But in this matter "I am not alone, neither is it my ſingle opinion. "Even the ſecluded members owned "us to be a parliament; elſe why did they, ſupported "by an armed force, intrude themſelves "contrary to the reſolutions of the houſe, in "order to procure the major vote for our diſſolution?" To which Mr. Anneſley anſwered, That if the ſecluded members had not appeared in parliament, and by that means put an end to all pretences, the people had not ſo ſoon arrived at their happineſs. Theſe, with many other things of equal force, being ſaid by Mr. Scot in his defence, rather to juſtify himſelf to his country, than from any hopes of conſideration from thoſe with whom he had to do; the jury, as directed, found him guilty alſo.

Col. John Jones and Mr. Gregory Clement, finding all that had been ſaid in vindication of the things objected againſt the Gentlemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the court, that they could ſay no more than had been already alledged; and therefore confeſſed the fact. Upon which they were declared guilty, as the perſons before mentioned had been.

On the 13th of November 1660, the ſentence which had been pronounced in conſequence of the verdict, was executed upon Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, at the place where Charing-croſs formerly ſtood, that the King might have the pleaſure of the ſpectacle, and inure himſelf to blood; on the 15th, Mr. John Carew ſuffered there alſo: even their enemies confeſſing, that more ſteadineſs of mind, more contempt of death, and more magnanimity, could not be expreſſed. To all who were preſent with them, either in priſon, or at the place where the ſentence was executed, they owned, that, having engaged in the cauſe of God and their country, they were not at all aſhamed to ſuffer in the manner their enemies thought fit; openly avowing the inward ſatisfaction of their minds when they reflected upon the actions for which they had been condemned; not doubting the revival of the ſame cauſe, and that a time ſhould come when men would have better thoughts of their perſons and proceedings.

Mr. John Coke, late Chief Juſtice of Ireland, had in his younger years ſeen the beſt part of Europe; and at Rome had ſpoken with ſuch liberty and ability againſt the corruptions of that court and church, that great endeavours were uſed there to bring him into that intereſt. But he, being reſolved not to yield to their ſolicitations, thought it no longer ſafe to continue among them; and therefore departed to Geneva, where he reſided ſome months in the houſe of Signior Gio. Diodati, Miniſter of the Italian church in that city; after which he returned to England, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the laws; and in that profeſſion became ſo conſiderable, that he was appointed by the high court of juſtice to be their Solicitor at the King's trial.

I have already ſaid, that he was ſeized and impriſoned by Sir Charles Coote; who, joining with Monk in his treachery to the commonwealth, ſent him over to England, that he might ſacrifice him to his new maſter, in ſatisfaction for the blood of his party which he himſelf had formerly ſhed. Being brought to his trial, he was accuſed of preferring, in the name of all the good people of England, an impeachment of high treaſon to the high court of juſtice againſt the late King; that he had ſigned the ſaid impeachment with his own hand; that, upon the King's demurrer to the juriſdiction of the court, he had preſſed that the charge might be taken for confeſſed; and therefore had demanded judgment from the court againſt the King. But this indictment being more particularly charged upon him in the three following articles,

1. That he, with others, had propounded, counſelled, contrived, and imagined the death of the late King;
2. That, to bring about this conſpiracy, he, with others, had aſſumed authority and power to accuſe, kill, and murder the King;
3. That a perſon unknown did cut off the King's head; and that the priſoner was abetting, aiding, aſſiſting, countenancing, and procuring the ſaid perſon ſo to do,

he anſwered, 1ſt, That he could not be juſtly ſaid to have contrived or counſelled the death of the King; becauſe the proclamation for the King's trial, even by the confeſſion of his accuſer, was publiſhed on the 9th of January, which was the day before he was appointed Solicitor to the high court of juſtice. In the 2d place, Though the court ſhould not admit that to be an act of parliament, which authoriſed him to do what he did; yet he aſſured himſelf, they would allow it to be an order; which was enough to juſtify him. 3dly, That he, who had neither been accuſer, witneſs, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treaſon in this caſe. He urged, That, having acted only as counſel, he was not anſwerable for the juſtice or injuſtice of the cauſe he had managed; that, being placed in that ſtation by a public command, it could not be ſaid he had acted maliciouſly, or with a wicked intention, as the indictment mentioned; that words ſpoken do not amount to treaſon, much leſs when ſet down in writing by the direction of others; eſpecially ſince no clear proof had been produced, that his name ſubſcribed to the charge againſt the King was written by himſelf. He ſaid, That to pray and demand juſtice, though injuſtice be done upon it, could not be treaſon within the ſtatute; that when he demanded juſtice, it might be meant of acquittal, as well as of condemnation; and that if it ſhould be accounted treaſon in a counſellor to plead againſt the King, it muſt alſo be felony to plead againſt any man who may be unjuſtly condemned for felony: that the high court of juſtice, though now called tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a court, had officers attending them, and many think had authority, there being then no other in this nation than that which gave them their power; and if this will not juſtify a man for acting within his own ſphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exerciſe his profeſſion, unleſs he may be ſure of the legality of the eſtabliſhment under which he acts. Theſe and divers other things of no leſs weight he ſaid in his defence: but the cabal thinking themſelves concerned to prevent the like in time to come, and to terrify thoſe who were not only able, but willing alſo to be employed in ſuch ſervice, procured from the jury a verdict of condemnation againſt him, according to their deſire.

The charge againſt Mr. Hugh Peters was, for compaſſing and imagining the death of the King, by conſpiring with Oliver Cromwel at ſeveral times and places, and procuring the ſoldiers to demand juſtice; by preaching divers ſermons, to perſuade the ſoldiery to take off the King; comparing him to Barabbas; and applying part of a pſalm where it is ſaid, *They ſhall bind their Kings in chains*, &c. to the proceedings againſt him; aſſuring them, that if they would look into their Bibles, they ſhould find there, *That whoever ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed;* and that neither the King nor any other perſon are excepted from this general rule. He was alſo accuſed of ſaying, that the Levites, Lords and Lawyers, muſt be taken away, in order to eſtabliſh a commonwealth; that the King was a tyrant, and that the office itſelf was chargeable, uſeleſs, and dangerous. Theſe, with other things of like nature, being ſworn againſt him, Mr. Peters ſaid in his defence, That the war began before he came into England; that, ſince his arrival, he had endeavoured to promote ſound religion, the reformation of learning and the law, and employment of the poor; that, for the better effecting theſe things, he had eſpouſed the intereſts of the parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice, or ambition; and that, whatever prejudices or paſſions might poſſeſs the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew theſe things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could ſay ſhould ſave him from the revenge of the court; and therefore he was without heſitation brought in guilty. This perſon had been a Miniſter in England for many years, till he was forced to leave his native country, by the perſecution ſet on foot, in the time of Abp Laud, againſt all thoſe who refuſed to comply with the innovations and ſuperſtitions which were then introduced into the public worſhip. He went firſt into Holland, and from thence to New-England; where, after ſome ſtay, being informed that the parliament had relieved the people in ſome meaſure from the abuſes in church and ſtate, and deſigned to perfect that work, he returned to England; and in all places, and on all occaſions, encouraged the people to appear vigorouſly for them. Having paſſed ſome time in England, he was made chaplain to a brigade that was ſent againſt the Iriſh rebels; and obſerving the condition of the plundered Proteſtants in that country to deſerve compaſſion, he went into Holland, and improved the intereſt he had there with ſo good ſucceſs, that he procured about 30,000 l. to be ſent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earneſt ſolicitor for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of the vallies of Piedmont, who had been moſt inhumanely perſecuted, and reduced to the utmoſt extremities, by the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the ſanctuary he had found among them in the time of his diſtreſs, he was not a little ſerviceable to them in compoſing their differences with England in the time of Cromwel.

An order being made, that the Chief Juſtice Coke and Mr. Peters ſhould die on the ſame day, they were carried on two ſleds to the place appointed for the execution of the ſentence that had been pronounced againſt them; the head of Maj.-Gen. Harriſon being placed on that which carried the Chief Juſtice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him: which was ſo far from producing the deſigned effect, that he not only ſeemed to be animated with courage, from the reflexion he might make upon that object, but the people every where expreſſed their deteſtation of ſuch uſage. At the place of execution, among other things, he declared, that he had uſed the utmoſt of his endeavours that the practice of the law might be regulated, and that the public juſtice might be adminiſtred with as much expedition and as little expence as poſſible; and that he had ſuffered a more than ordinary perſecution from thoſe of his own profeſſion on that account. He ſaid, he underſtood not the meaning of the court, when they affirmed, that if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the bar, it had been treaſon in them; and as to the part he had in the action with which he was charged, he was ſo far from repenting what he had done, that he was moſt ready to ſeal it with his blood. Here the Sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the cuſtom in the moſt barbarous nations, much leſs in England, to inſult over a dying man; adding, that he thought he was the firſt who had ever ſuffered death for demanding juſtice.

When this victim was cut down, and brought to be quartered, one Col. Turner called to the Sheriff's men to bring Mr. Peters to ſee what was doing. Which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, aſked him, how he liked that work? He told him, he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worſt. And when he was upon the ladder, he ſaid to the Sheriff, "Sir, You "have butchered one of the ſervants of God "before my eyes, and have forced me to ſee it, "in order to terrify and diſcourage me: but "God has permitted it for my ſupport and en"couragement."

On the 16th of October, Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one ſled, and Col. Adrian Scroop with Col. John Jones in another, to Charing-croſs, in order to ſuffer death as the reſt had done. Mr. Scot was a Gentleman, who, having been educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, had lived privately in the country, till, upon a recruit of members to ſerve in the parliament, he was choſen to be of their number; and in that ſtation carried himſelf with ſuch conſtancy and zeal for the ſervice of the commonwealth, that, during the interruption of the parliament by Cromwel, the country in which he lived, as a mark of their eſteem, choſe him to ſerve them as often as there was occaſion. When the parliament was a ſecond time interrupted by the army, he held a conſtant correſpondence with Monk for their reſtitution; in which he was very inſtrumental, as well by cauſing the letters he received from Monk, declaring his reſolution to live and die with the parliament, to be printed and publiſhed, as by other ſervices. He had been ſeveral times choſen a member of the council of ſtate. And the parliament being again reſtored, they appointed him to be Secretary to that board, and deputed him for one of the two commiſſioners they ſent to accompany Monk in his march to London. To this Gentleman Monk ſolemnly ſwore at St. Alban's, that he would be faithful to the parliament. In confidence of which, when Mr. Scot had reſumed his place in the houſe, he undertook ſo largely for his integrity. But when his treachery was too manifeſt, he endeavoured to paſs beyond the ſeas, and was taken by pirates; who, having plundered him, ſet him aſhore in Hampſhire: yet, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, he procured another veſſel to land him in Flanders; where he was no ſooner arrived, but he was ſeized by an agent for the King. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, who had been Ambaſſador for the King of Spain in England during the government of the commonwealth, remembering the particular obligations he had to Mr. Scot, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty. Being freed from theſe dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inſerted among others of the King's judges who were required to render themſelves if they expected any benefit by the act of indemnity; in confidence at leaſt of ſaving his life, he ſurrendered himſelf to the Engliſh agent within the time limited by the proclamation. And though he was thus inſnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done with the teſtimony of his blood; which he did with the greateſt demonſtrations of chearfulneſs and ſatiſfaction of mind. He attempted ſeveral times to ſpeak to the people at the place of execution, in juſtification of that cauſe for which he was to die: but thoſe who feared nothing ſo much as truth, interrupted him ſo often, that he found himſelf obliged to ſay, "That ſurely it muſt be "a very bad cauſe which cannot ſuffer the words "of a dying man."

Mr. Gregory Clement, being the next that ſuffered, was a citizen and merchant of London, who, by trading to Spain, had raiſed a very conſiderable eſtate. He was choſen a member of the parliament about the year 1646, and diſcharged that truſt with great diligence; always joining with thoſe who were moſt affectionate to the commonwealth, though he never was poſſeſſed of any place of profit under them. Being appointed one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the King, he durſt not refuſe his aſſiſtance in that ſervice. He had no good elocution, but his apprehenſion and judgment were not to be deſpiſed. He declared before his death, that nothing troubled him ſo much as his pleading Guilty at the time of his trial, to ſatisfy the importunity of his relations; by which he ſaid he had rendered himſelf unworthy to die in ſo glorious a cauſe.

Col. Adrian Scroop was deſcended of an ancient family, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate. His port and mien was noble, and the endowments of his mind every way anſwerable. He appeared early in the army of the parliament, being preſent and engaged at the battle of Edge-hill, in the head of a troop of horſe, which he had raiſed. He was firſt advanced to the degree of a Major, and ſoon after appointed to be Colonel of a regiment of horſe. He had been, for ſeveral years, Governor of the caſtle of Briſtol; and when the parliament thought fit to ſlight that garriſon, they made him one of their commiſſioners for the civil government of Scotland, in conjunction with the Lord Broghill, Monk, and others. In all theſe employments he manifeſted ſuch abilities and fidelity, that the parliament appointed him to be one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the late King; in which place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a judge in whom ſo great a truſt is repoſed, and who ought to be no reſpecter of perſons. The hard meaſure he received from the convention at Weſtminſter, I have already mentioned. It remains only to give ſome account of what he ſaid at the place where he ſuffered death; which was to this purpoſe: That though he had been accuſtomed to be ſeen in better places, and other kind of circumſtances; yet it being the will of God he ſhould be brought into this condition, he ſubmitted chearfully; that he never had entertained malice againſt any man; and that he now wiſhed no ill either to the jury who found him guilty, or to the judges who pronounced ſentence; or even to the perſon by whoſe means he was brought to that place, who, he preſumed, was ſo well known, that it was not neceſſary to name him. He ſaid, he ſhould not boaſt of his birth, or education, or the private conduct of his life; becauſe he was going to appear before a tribunal where all men muſt come, and where the juſtice or injuſtice of every action would be manifeſt; deſiring the people in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him, for he was firmly perſuaded he ſuffered for the cauſe of God and his country.

Col. John Jones, who next appeared on this bloody theatre, was a Gentleman of a competent eſtate in North-Wales, and ſo well beloved in his country, that he did conſiderable ſervice to the public cauſe by his intereſt in thoſe parts. He reduced the iſle of Angleſea to the obedience of the commonwealth, and was ſoon after choſen to ſerve in parliament for that place. He had been one of the council of ſtate; and in the year 1650 was conſtituted one of the commiſſioners of parliament for managing the civil affairs of Ireland. This truſt he diſcharged, during the courſe of divers years, with great diligence, ability, and integrity, in providing for the happineſs of that country, and bringing to juſtice thoſe who had been concerned in the murders of the Engliſh Proteſtants. When the great parliament was reſtored to the exerciſe of their authority, after their long interruption, they choſe him to be one of thoſe eight perſons to whom they committed the care of the public ſafety, till they could eſtabliſh a council of ſtate. Of this alſo he was choſen a member, and ſoon after ſent by the parliament to his former truſt in Ireland; where he continued till the late change. Being drawn to Charing-croſs on the ſame ſled with Col. Scroop, the gravity and graceful mien of theſe aged Gentlemen, accompanied with viſible marks of fortitude and internal ſatisfaction, ſurpriſed the ſpectators with admiration and compaſſion.

Col. Daniel Axtel was next brought to trial. The chief heads of the indictment againſt him were, That he commanded the guards both at the trial and execution of the King; that he ordered the ſoldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand juſtice, and afterwards execution; that he threatened to ſhoot a Lady, who, from a gallery that was near the court where the King was tried, had contradicted the preſident when he was ſpeaking concerning the charge; that he ſent for and encouraged the executioner; and that he had upbraided with cowardice one of the perſons to whom the warrant for ſeeing execution done upon the King was directed, for refuſing to ſign it. And theſe, with ſome other things of leſs weight, were called compaſſing and imagining the death of the King. Col. Hercules Huncks, who was one of the three to whom the ſaid warrant had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the high court of juſtice, and one who had oppoſed with more than ordinary vehemence all thoſe who were for the King, was the principal witneſs againſt him. Col. Axtel, having firſt acknowledged his ignorance in matters of law, and therefore deſiring that no undue advantages might be taken againſt him on that account, proceeded to ſpeak to this effect: That the war was made by the joint authority of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in parliament, who claimed a right of employing the military force of the nation for the public ſafety; as appears by divers acts and declarations publiſhed by their order. This authority raiſed an army; made the Earl of Eſſex General, then the Earl of Mancheſter, of the forces of the eaſtern aſſociation; and after that created and authoriſed Sir Thomas Fairfax to be General of all their forces. "Under this authority (ſaid he) I "acted; which I conceive to be legal, becauſe "this parliament was not only called by the "King's writ, and choſen by the people, but "alſo becauſe a bill had paſſed, that they ſhould

"not be diſſolved otherwiſe than by their own
"conſent. Having this unqueſtionable autho-
"rity for my juſtification, I preſume my caſe
"comes not within the reach of the ſtatute 25th
"Edward III. which could by no means intend
"ſuch a power as was not only owned and o-
"beyed at home, but acknowledged by princes
"and ſtates abroad, to be the chief authority of
"the nation, by ſending agents and ambaſſa-
"dors to them. The judges, who ought to be
"the eye and guide of the people, acted under
"them, divers of them publicly declaring, that
"it was lawful and juſtifiable to obey the par-
"liament. But if their acts may not be account-
"ed ſuch, though they carried that title, and
"were obeyed by the judges, miniſters, officers
"of ſtate, and the whole nation; yet ſurely
"they cannot be denied to be orders of parlia-
"ment; which would be ſufficient to juſtify a-
"ny man who acted by them. This parlia-
"ment ſo conſtituted, ſo acknowledged, and ſo
"obeyed, having made choice of a perſon to
"be General of their forces, I was by that Ge-
"neral, in virtue of the authority he had recei-
"ved from them, conſtituted an officer under
"him. And therefore, whatever I have done,
"was as a ſoldier, and according to the duty of
"my office: for if I was in Weſtminſter-hall at
"the time of the King's trial, I was there by a
"command of the General. And if it be ſo
"great a crime to have been an officer in that
"army which was raiſed by the parliament, the
"Earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, the Lord Ge-
"neral Fairfax, Monk, and others, who have
"acted by the ſame authority, were no leſs cri-
"minal than myſelf." He cited the declara-
tions

tions of the Lords and Commons, publiſhed when they engaged the people to take arms; in which they aſſerted, that it was repugnant to reaſon, that the judgment and actions of the parliament might not be a rule and guide to the nation in their duty; and declared, that the perſons who ſhould act under their authority, ought not to be queſtioned for ſo doing. He therefore preſumed, that an inferior court would not expound the law contrary to the judgment of the high court of parliament; adding, that if the houſe of Commons, who are the repreſentatives of the whole nation, may be guilty of treaſon, it will follow, that all the people of England, who choſe them, are guilty alſo; and then where will a jury be found to try this cauſe? "My commiſſion is dated the 27th of March "1648, ten months before the King's death. "The commiſſion by which Gen. Fairfax was "authoriſed to give mine to me, he received "from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in "parliament. I did nothing but my duty in "going to my regiment: for if the General "ſays, Go to ſuch a place, and ſtay there; if "I refuſe, by the law of arms I am to die; but "if I obey, it ſeems I am in danger alſo. The "queſtion therefore in law, I humbly conceive, "will be this, and I deſire it may be truly and "fairly ſtated, *Whether a man who is guided by "the judgment of the Lords and Commons aſ"ſembled in parliament, acting only according "to that judgment of parliament, and under "their authority, can be queſtioned for trea"ſon?*" To this the counſel anſwering, That he was not accuſed of levying war, but of aſſiſting at the trial and execution of the King, and encouraging the ſoldiers to clamour for juſtice and execution; the Colonel replied, That he was no more guilty than the General; that his preſence in Weſtminſter-hall was not voluntary, and that he was there by command. This he preſſed ſo home upon the court, appealing to themſelves for their judgment in the caſe, that they were neceſſitated to fly to their old refuge of queſtioning the authority by which he had acted. To the reſt of the evidence he ſaid, That if any Lady had talked aloud during the time of the King's trial, to the interruption and diſturbance of the court, he ſuppoſed it was no treaſon to bid her hold her tongue; that if he ſmiled, as Col. Temple depoſed, it could not amount to ſo great a crime; that if ſome ſoldiers did cry out juſtice, it was not by his inſtigation; yet he hoped, that to deſire juſtice, which is one of the principal attributes of God, is no treaſon. Having ſaid theſe with many other things in his defence, he addreſſed himſelf to the jury, and acquainted them, that he left his caſe and his life in their hands.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, Bridgman, who was preſident of this aſſembly, contented himſelf with repeating that ſtrange and unheard-of doctrine, "That no perſon whatſoever, nor com-" munity; not the people either collectively or "repreſentatively, have any coercive power o-" ver the King." For this he quoted ſome precedents as little to the purpoſe as the aſſertion itſelf; and then concluded the caſe to be ſo clear, that the jury needed not to ſtir from the bar. It ſoon appeared that he knew the men: for they fully anſwered his expectations; and, as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared

Col. Axtel to be guilty of the treaſon with which he had been charged.

Col. Francis Hacker being appointed to appear alſo in this tragical ſcene, he was brought to the bar; where an indictment for compaſſing and imagining the death of the King was read againſt him: and to prove the accuſation, witneſſes were produced; who depoſed, That he was one of the perſons that were upon the guard, and kept the King priſoner; that the warrant for ſeeing the ſentence that had been pronounced by the high court of juſtice put in execution, was directed to him with others; that, in proſecution of that commiſſion, he had ſigned a warrant for executing the King; and that he took the King, by virtue of the warrant he had received, out of the cuſtody of Col. Thomlinſon, and conducted him to the ſcaffold on which he had been put to death. Col. Hacker excepted not againſt any of the jury, finding all of them to be of the ſame ſtamp; and ſaid little more in his defence, than that he had acted by the command of his ſuperiors, and that he had always endeavoured to ſerve his country in all his public actions. So that his trial was quickly diſpatched, and he declared guilty of high treaſon. He was a Gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate, derived to him from his anceſtors, who lived in the county of Leiceſter. He had paſſed through ſeveral degrees of command in the ſervice of the parliament; and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Worceſter, in the head of a regiment of horſe, which he had raiſed on that occaſion for the defence of his country. He refuſed his aſſiſtance to ſupport the uſurpation of Mr. Richard Cromwel, though he had forced a knighthood, as it is called, upon him, and preſented him with two ſwords; refuſing to obey his orders, and joining with the commonwealth-party in his depoſition. He had continued in the command of his regiment till he was taken in cuſtody; having had aſſurances from Monk, that he ſhould be fully indemnified. So that when he came to London, he made a viſit to Monk, and was received with all the appearances of friendſhip and affection. But the next day after he had been thus careſſed, he was ſeized, examined, and ſent to the Tower.

Col. Daniel Axtel had been Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment of foot; in the laſt of which employments he had aſſiſted at the trial and execution of the late King. When Lt-Gen. Cromwel was ſent by the parliament into Ireland with an army againſt the rebels, and the regiment in which Col. Axtel ſerved was drawn out by lot for that expedition, he chearfully undertook the employment; and for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, was ſoon preferred to the head of a regiment; and not long after was made Governor of Kilkenny, and the adjacent precinct; which important truſt he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs. In this ſtation he ſhewed a more than ordinary zeal in puniſhing thoſe Iriſh who had been guilty of murdering the Proteſtants. And on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late King, the court had procured him to be excepted out of the act of indemnity.

Capt. William Hewlet was alſo accuſed, and tried, for cutting off the King's head, or at leaſt for being one of the perſons that ſtood maſked upon the ſcaffold during his execution: and though divers creditable witneſſes depoſed, that Gregory Bandon, who was common hangman, had confeſſed and owned to have executed the King; yet the jury found him guilty of the indictment. But the court, being ſenſible of the injury done to him, procured his reprieve.

Thoſe whom I mentioned before to have been excepted both for life and eſtate, with a reſerve, that if upon trial they ſhould be found guilty, ſentence of death ſhould not be executed againſt any of them, except by act of parliament, were brought to be tried before this court; where ſome of them pleaded Guilty ſimply; but others, though they acknowledged the guilt, denied the malice; and ſome confeſſing the fact, denied the guilt. Of this laſt number was Col. Henry Martin; of whoſe trial I ſhall only mention ſome few of the moſt remarkable paſſages, and ſo leave this melancholy ſubject. For if I ſhould give an account, though with all poſſible brevity, of what paſſed in the court during their ſeſſion, together with what might be neceſſary to ſay concerning the perſons accuſed, I ſhould be carried too far from my purpoſe. Col. Henry Martin was charged with ſigning and ſealing the precept for ſummoning the high court of juſtice; with ſigning the warrant for executing the King; with ſitting in court almoſt every day of his trial, and particularly that on which he received the ſentence of death. To theſe things he anſwered, That he declined not to acknowledge the matter of fact that was alledged againſt him, the malice imputed to him by the indictment ſet aſide. Upon which, being told by one of the counſel, that he ſeemed to be of opinion, that a man might ſit and adjudge a King to death, and ſign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably, and honeſtly; he anſwered, That though he ſhould not compare his knowledge in the law with that of ſuch a learned Gentleman; yet, according to that little underſtanding he had been capable of acquiring, he preſumed, that *no fact could be named, which in itſelf is a crime, but only as it is circumſtantiated;* and to make good that aſſertion, gave ſeveral inſtances. But the counſel, to prove that he had acted maliciouſly, produced a perſon who depoſed, that he ſigned the warrant merrily, and in a jeſting way, as he was rallying with Lt-Gen. Cromwel. To which he replied, That ſuch a way of doing a thing does by no means imply malice. The counſel, finding their inſinuations and aggravations of the charge againſt him ſo eaſily blown away by theſe and other anſwers, made up with paſſion what they wanted in the weight of reaſon; the Solicitor-General exclaiming, "That all good people abhorred "the action; and that he was ſorry to ſee ſo "little repentance." To this the Colonel only ſaid, He hoped that what was urged by the counſel, would not make that impreſſion upon the court and jury as ſeemed to be deſigned; and that if it were poſſible for that blood to be in the veins again, and every drop of that which was ſhed in the late wars, he could wiſh it with all his heart: but he preſumed it might be lawful to ſay in his own defence, that what he did, he thought at that time he might do. "There "was, (ſaid he), a houſe of Commons, as I un"derſtood it to be, though perhaps your Lord"ſhips think them not to have been a houſe of "Commons: however, they were then the ſu-

" preme authority in England, and acknow-
" ledged and reputed ſo to be both at home
" and abroad. I ſuppoſe he who gives obedi-
" ence to the authority *de facto* in being, ſuffi-
" ciently ſhews himſelf to be of a peaceable
" temper, and far from a traitor. There was
" a ſtatute made in the time of Henry VII. to
" indemnify all thoſe who ſhould take arms for
" a King *de facto*, though he were not ſo *de*
" *jure*. And if a ſupreme officer *de facto* can
" juſtify a war, I preſume the ſupreme authori-
" ty in England, though *de facto* only, may
" juſtify a court of judicature. If it ſhould be
" ſaid, That the authority by which we acted
" was only one eſtate of three, and but part of
" that; I anſwer, It was all that was then ex-
" iſting. And I have heard lawyers ſay, That
" if there be commons appurtenant to a tene-
" ment, and that the tenement be all burnt
" down except one ſmall ſtick, the commons
" ſtill belong to that ſmall piece as much as
" when the tenement was all ſtanding. I ſhall
" alſo humbly offer it to conſideration, whether
" the late King, for ſome time before his trial,
" could truly and properly be called a King,
" who was not in the execution of his office,
" but made a priſoner, and no way concerned
" in the adminiſtration of public affairs." But notwithſtanding theſe, and divers other things which he ſaid in his defence, with as much preſence of mind as ſolidity of argument, he was brought in guilty of the treaſon for which he had been accuſed. In purſuance of which verdict, the ſentence of condemnation was paſſed againſt him; the convention making no proviſion for ſecuring the lives either of him or the

reſt of the Gentlemen that had been decoyed into a ſurrender of their perſons, though they had implicitly promiſed them favour.

The army that had ſo long ſtood in the way of the court, was now wholly diſbanded, except only Monk's regiment of foot; and that was balanced by a regiment of horſe raiſed under colour of being a guard to the King. This, together with the payment of their arrears, and a liberty of trading in corporations, was the reward they received for their ſervices, notwithſtanding all the fair promiſes both of Monk and the King. And thus theſe men, who had accumulated treachery upon treachery, were diſmiſſed with infamy: for the very acknowledgment that was made by the King, that they had been the chief inſtruments of his return, reproached them with infidelity to the parliament; and their own deſires to be abſolved from the guilt of their former actions, was a confeſſion that they had been rebels to the King. However, the diſſipation of theſe men was not cauſed by the King's averſion to a ſtanding army; for the whole courſe of his life demonſtrates the contrary: but being perſuaded, that they who had already made ſo many changes in England, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little conſideration as they had brought him in, he thought it moſt ſafe and neceſſary to free himſelf at once from ſuch dangerous companions.

This work being accompliſhed, the court began to take off the maſk. For though the King had publiſhed a declaration for accommodation in matters of public worſhip and ceremonies, and though the Epiſcopal party in the convention had patiently permitted a committee to be appointed to conſider of that matter; yet, being delivered from the terror of the army, they oppoſed the report of the committee with ſuch violence, that it was not thought fit to preſs it any more. By which means all the hopes of the Preſbyterians vaniſhed, and this mountain brought forth a mouſe. The natural tendency of theſe things was ſo viſible, that Mr. Prynn, who had manifeſted a more than ordinary zeal for diſbanding the army, finding his expectations defeated, and the Preſbyterian party ſo miſerably deluded, after he had made report of the number of regiments that had been diſbanded, deſired the houſe, that they would be mindful not to do thoſe things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverſe party fell upon him with that fury, that if the houſe had not riſen immediately in great diſorder, he had been obliged to explain himſelf at the bar.

But for all this, the convention, though called in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, as if they had deſigned to put the people beyond the hopes of any remedy, made a preſent to the King of the cuſtoms and exciſe during his life; beſides other great ſums charged upon the nation, to ſupply his preſent occaſions. And though, before the paſſing of the bill of indemnity, they had ſeemed ſenſible, that they were in honour concerned to make proviſion for the ſecurity of the lives of thoſe who, having ſat as judges of the late King, had rendered themſelves into their hands upon the proclamation which had been publiſhed by their advice; yet they not only abandoned thoſe poor deluded Gentlemen who lay under the ſentence of condemnation, and waited for the favour they had implicitly promiſed; but alſo paſſed a bill of attainder againſt thoſe of the King's judges and other perſons, who having been excepted out of the act, had eſcaped their hands; adding to other unuſual clauſes, "That all truſts for "their uſe ſhould be forfeited." But the Duke of York, upon whom theſe confiſcated eſtates were beſtowed, muſt be ſupplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of France, widow to the late K. Charles, who had been a principal inſtrument to adviſe and encourage him in his illegal actions, paſſed over into England about this time; and being arrived at London, the houſe of Commons, in which were many perſons who had been members of that parliament which had threatened to accuſe her of high treaſon, not only congratulated her return, but preſented her daughter, that had accompanied her in her journey, with the ſum of 10,000 l. But notwithſtanding all the flattering ſubſerviency they could ſhew, and all that they could do to procure themſelves to be thought fit for the ſervice of the court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the work of the church, they were acquainted, that they ſhould be diſſolved on the 24th of December next enſuing; againſt which time it was deſired that all bills under conſideration might be made ready. And leſt the people ſhould, upon the diſſolution of this aſſembly, form a body of men, and aſſert their liberties; it was pretended, that a great plot to ſeize the King and the Tower, to kill the Queen, with all thoſe that ſhould be found of the French nation, and to reſtore the parliament, was carrying on throughout England. Under this colour, Maj.-Gen. Overton, Col. Deſborough, Col. Salmon, Lt-Col. Farley, Maj. Whitby, and divers other perſons, were ſeized in London; and Col. Duckenfield, Maj. Anthony Morgan, and ſeveral others, were impriſoned in the country.

During the noiſe of this conſpiracy, the Queen, accompanied by her daughter and Jermyn, returned to France; which induced many to believe, that ſhe was terrified by the deſigns againſt her perſon. But ſhe, who knew the plot to be no more than a fiction, had other real grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to perſuade her ſon to remove the Chancellor Hyde from his councils, and finding ſhe effected nothing by her continual ſolicitations, ſhe ſoon grew weary of England; where, though, by the importunity of the King, ſhe had at laſt admitted the new Ducheſs of York to come into her preſence; yet, by applying herſelf to other company, not deſiring her to ſit, and taking the firſt opportunity to withdraw from the room, ſhe abundantly ſhewed that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a daughter. Theſe were the principal, if not the only reaſons that moved the Queen to quit the court of her ſon, and to retire into her own country; though, to give a better colour to her departure, and to conceal theſe domeſtic diviſions, they made uſe of the pretences before mentioned.

On the day of the diſſolution of the convention, Sir Harbottle Grimeſton, who was their Speaker, made a ſpeech to the King, filled with the greateſt flattery. In anſwer to which, the Chancellor was no way ſparing of compliments; applauding the wiſdom of the houſe in the King's reſtitution, and their diligent endeavours to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction, by ſettling things in ſuch a manner as might prevent new diſturbances and troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not inveſting the King with the militia, (which he ſaid had been the great bone of contention during the late war), nor declaring any thing concerning that matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and conſequently a foundation of new differences. To prevent which, and to ſecure the peace of the nation, he acquainted them, that the King would be conſtrained to eſtabliſh it for the preſent, as formerly his predeceſſors had done. And to convince them of the neceſſity of this arbitrary proceeding, he took occaſion to put them in mind of the late plot, (an admirable ſtate-engine fitted for all times); telling them, That though the perſons engaged in this conſpiracy were only the lees of the people, yet ſmall beginnings ought not to be neglected, eſpecially conſidering that all things in this deſign had been brought to a head; that I had been nominated to command 2500 men in London, who were ready to ſeize the Tower; that the like number was inliſted under my command in the weſtern parts of England; and that another perſon, whom he named not, had as many in the north ready to proſecute the ſame deſign. To give the beſt colour they could to theſe falſhoods, all places where it could be ſuſpected I might lie concealed, were diligently ſearched; my wife was ſeveral times plundered of her wearing-cloaths; the lodgings of Col. Kempſon, my brother-in-law, were ranſacked, and many of his goods taken away; all my writings, which I had recommended to the care of a friend, were betrayed by a ſervant in hopes of reward, and ſeized; and one who had waited on me in my chamber was impriſoned in the gate-houſe, where he lay ten weeks, becauſe he could not diſcover where I was.

Col. John Barkſtead and Col. Okey, with Col. Walton and Col. Dixwel, who had been commiſſioners in the high court of juſtice at the trial of the late King, having made their eſcape from England into Germany, were received into protection at Hanau, and made burgeſſes of the town. Of theſe, Col. Barkſtead and Col. Okey took a journey to Holland, to meet ſome relations who were contented to baniſh themſelves with them, and to conduct them to the place which they had choſen for their reſidence. But one Mr. George Downing, who was agent for the King in Holland, and had formerly been a preacher, and chaplain to Col. Okey's regiment, having received information that ſuch perſons were in that country, obtained an order from the States-General for their ſeizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. Miles Corbet, one of the King's judges alſo, ſent into England in a ſhip of war, and committed priſoners to the Tower. Two things ſeemed eſpecially remarkable in this action; the treachery of Downing, after he had given aſſurance to a perſon ſent to him by Col. Okey to that end, that he had no orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part acted by the States in this conjuncture; who, though they had themſelves ſhaken off the yoke of tyranny, and to that time had made it a fundamental maxim, to receive and protect all thoſe who ſhould come among them; yet, contrary to the principles of their government, and the intereſt of their commonwealth, to ſay nothing of the laws of God, nature and nations, without any previous engagement to the court of England, contributed as much as in them lay to the deſtruction of theſe Gentlemen. But a treaty was to be made with England, and their trade ſecured at any rate, though the foundations ſhould be laid in blood.

Mr. Miles Corbet was a Gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk. He had applied himſelf with diligence to the ſtudy of the laws of England in the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn; and, for the ſpace of thirty ſeven years, had been choſen to ſerve his country in the ſeveral parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the high court of juſtice for the trial of the late King, he appeared not among the judges by reaſon of ſome ſcruples he had entertained, till the day that ſentence was pronounced. But, upon more mature deliberation, finding them to be of no weight, he durſt no longer abſent himſelf; coming early on that day into the court, that he might give a public teſtimony of his ſatisfaction and concurrence with their proceedings. He was afterwards by the parliament made one of their commiſſioners for the civil government of Ireland; in which employment he manifeſted ſuch integrity, that though he was continued for many years in that ſtation, yet he impaired his own eſtate for the public ſervice, whilſt he was the greateſt huſband of the treaſure of the commonwealth. The day before his death, he aſſured his friends, that he was ſo thoroughly convinced of the juſtice and neceſſity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet entire, and to do, he could not refuſe to act as he had done, without affronting his reaſon, and oppoſing himſelf to the dictates of his conſcience; adding, that the immoralities, lewdneſs, and corruptions of all ſorts, which had been introduced and encouraged ſince the late revolution, were no inconſiderable juſtification of thoſe proceedings.

Col. John Barkſtead was a citizen and goldſmith of London, who, being ſenſible of the invaſions that had been made upon the liberties of the nation, took arms among the firſt for their defence, in the quality of Captain to a foot-company in the regiment of Col. Venn. He had not been long in this employment, before his merit advanced him to the degree of a Major; in which ſtation he was made Governor of Reading: and afterwards being preferred to the command of a regiment, he was conſtituted by the parliament, in conſideration of his ſervices, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. When he was brought to confirm with the teſtimony of his blood that cauſe for which he had fought, he performed that part with chearfulneſs and courage, no way derogating from the character of a ſoldier and a true Engliſhman.

Col. ——— Okey was alſo a citizen of London, and one of thoſe who appeared early in the ſervice of the parliament. He had been firſt a Captain of foot, then a Captain of horſe, and afterwards Major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Haſlerig. In the year 1645, at the time when the army was new modelled, he was made Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a regiment of horſe. In theſe employments he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, conduct, and fidelity; and, during the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwel, was diſmiſſed from his command in the army, on account of his affection to the commonwealth. He was choſen by the county of Bedford to repreſent and ſerve them in the convention that was called by Richard; and, after the reſtitution of the great parliament, they reſtored him to his command in the army. Being ready to ſuffer for that cauſe which he had ſtrenuouſly defended, he ſaid in the preſence of many witneſſes, that if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the ſame account. The ſentence againſt theſe three Gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of April 1662, the King beſtowed the body of Col. Okey upon his wife, to diſpoſe as ſhe thought fit. Upon which ſhe ordered him to be interred at Stepney, where his firſt wife lay in a vault that he had purchaſed for himſelf and family. But the report of this funeral being ſpread among the people, ſeveral thouſands of them aſſembled themſelves in and about Newgate market, where the body lay, reſolving to attend it to the grave. And though they behaved themſelves with decency and modeſty; yet the King, upon notice of this appearance, was ſo alarmed, that he revoked his grant to the Colonel's wife, diſpatched orders to the Sheriff to diſperſe the company, and commanded the body to be interred in the Tower.

The report of the inhumanity of the States towards our friends being brought to Geneva, we began to doubt whether that little commonwealth, who were under great apprehenſions of the King of France, might not, if our enemies could engage him to preſs them, follow the example of the Dutch, and deliver us up alſo. We reſolved therefore either to procure forthwith an aſſurance of ſafety for our perſons, or to make the beſt proviſion we could for ourſelves in ſome other place. To this end, we employed Mr. Perrot, our landlord, to diſcourſe with Monſieur Voiſin, the Principal Syndic, and to deſire him to inform us what uſage we might expect, in caſe we ſhould be demanded of that ſtate. The Syndic, upon this application, promiſed to ſerve us to the utmoſt of his power: aſſuring us, that if any letters ſhould come to his hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely notice, but if ſuch a thing ſhould fall out in the night, he would cauſe the water-gate, of which he always kept the key, to be opened for our eſcape; and if we ſhould be obliged to depart by day, we ſhould have a free paſſage through any of the city-gates that we ſhould chuſe. To all which he added this farther promiſe, that when his brother Syndic, Monſieur Dupain, ſhould return from Bern, where he then was, they would conſult together how to make our reſidence more ſafe to us either by a public act or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found moſt convenient. With theſe aſſurances I was fully ſatisfied, being, as I thought, as much as could be expected. But Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley, who were likewiſe in the ſame place, made many objections againſt our ſtay, and preſſed Mr. Perrot, upon the return of Mr. Dupain, to put him upon conferring with Monſieur Voiſin touching our affair. Mr. Perrot upon this went to the nephew of the ſaid Monſieur Dupain, who was Procurator-General of Geneva; and by him was adviſed, that we ſhould addreſs ourſelves in a public manner to the council for their protection. This way I oppoſed, as a thing not fit for us to aſk, or the city to grant; leſt they ſhould be brought into difficulties, and perhaps danger, upon our account. But Mr. Perrot affirming, that the procurator was of opinion, that it was both eaſy and fit to be done, and that his brother, who was a leading man in the council, was of the ſame judgment; I thought they were beſt acquainted with their own affairs, and therefore reſolved to let them proceed as they pleaſed. Having made their attempt, they found the ſucceſs I expected; For the buſineſs being brought before the council, Monſieur Let, one of the Syndics, from whom the Firſt Syndic had endeavoured to conceal his correſpondence with us, expecting the payment of a great debt due to him from the King of England, or poſſibly inclining in his affections to that intereſt, not only obſtructed the addreſs, but charged thoſe who had promoted it with a deſign of ſurpriſing the council. However, the council was ſo favourable, that though they thought not convenient to grant the requeſt; yet, being unwilling to deny us their protection, they put off the farther conſideration of that affair to another day; ſome of their members in friendſhip to us adviſing privately, that it ſhould be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to ourſelves in this conjuncture, we made application to the Lords of the Swiſs canton of Bern for their protection; in which we were moſt friendly aſſiſted by Monſieur Bailival, Lieutenant-Governor of Lauſanna, who had been lately put into that place upon the death of one Godward, the only friend to monarchy, and enemy to our cauſe, that lived in that town.

Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley, meeting with this diſappointment at Geneva, reſolved to remove, and to that end hired a boat to carry them to Lauſanna. I accompanied them to the water-ſide; and whilſt I was taking leave, a letter was brought to me from the perſon we had employed to their Excellencies of Bern; in which I was aſſured, they had readily condeſcended to our deſires. This was an encouragement to me to continue ſome time longer at Geneva; not doubting their protection when they ſhould find us to be favoured and countenanced by their beſt friends and allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two friends, I went to the Principal Syndic; and, having excuſed them as well as I could for leaving the town without waiting on him, I acquainted him, that the application to the council was made without my advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully ſatisfied with the verbal engagement he had given for our ſecurity: which I had no ſooner ſaid, than he, not without diſcompoſure, and, as I conjectured, fear, made anſwer, That he could no longer think himſelf obliged by his promiſes; having gone ſo far, in expectation that what had paſſed between us, ſhould be kept ſecret; whereas now he thought the King of England might have notice of it. Upon this retractation, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at Geneva, I departed the next day, accompanied by a particular friend, for Lauſanna; where we found Mr. Liſle and Mr. Cawley, who had received the act of protection from the Lords of Bern, granted under our own proper

per names: which I mention for their honour, who ſhewed their courage and generoſity in owning us and our cauſe, when we had been abandoned by thoſe whoſe true intereſt was the ſame with our own.

In the month of July 1662, I received letters from England with an account of the trial, ſentence, and death of Sir Henry Vane: of which I ſhall only ſay, that he behaved himſelf on all thoſe occaſions in ſuch a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, ſoundneſs of judgment, and preſence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his conſtant adherence to the cauſe of his country, and heroic carriage during the time of his confinement, and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous ſuggeſtions at his trial, the breach of the public faith in the uſage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the ſavage rudeneſs of the Sheriff, who commanded the trumpets ſeveral times to ſound, that he might not be heard by the people, were more remarkable.

The following account of this (and another tranſaction, which I care not to inſiſt upon) being ſent to me at Geneva, I may not omit to inſert in this place; becauſe it ſeems to give the true reaſons of the court of England for hurrying Sir Henry Vane out of the world.

" On Friday laſt, being the 16th of this in-
" ſtant June 1662, Sir Henry Vane pleaded for
" his life, and Maj.-Gen. Lambert for his; or
" rather, the firſt pleaded for the life and liber-
" ties of his country, and the other for his own.
" The iſſue in all appearance will be, that Sir
" Henry will be put to death, and Lambert par-
" doned, though both are under ſentence of

“ condemnation. The reaſon of this diſtinction “ is no other than the manner of their defence; “ the one alledging the authority of the great “ parliament for his juſtification, and that he “ was indemnified by the act of amneſty; the “ other meanly extenuating and excuſing what “ he did againſt Sir George Booth and Monk, “ (which was the principal part of the accuſa- “ tion againſt him), by pleading ignorance of “ their intentions, neither of them having de- “ clared that they deſigned to reſtore the King; “ and Monk, on the contrary, having openly “ declared for the reſtitution of the parliament. “ Sir Henry Vane was long in his defence, but “ not tedious. He much perplexed both court “ and counſel; and has acquired eternal repu- “ tation, by nobly pleading for the dying liber- “ ties of his country; it being clear, that all “ the party which ſeemed to be indemnified by “ the act of amneſty, ſhall be puniſhed in his “ perſon; and that for this cauſe only, That, “ in his pleading, he undertook, by the autho- “ rity of the ſaid parliament, to juſtify what he “ had done; maintaining, that the houſe of “ Commons, repreſenting the whole body of “ the people, in caſe of difference between the “ authority royal and politic, poſſeſſes a juſt “ power to defend the rights of the people, and “ to authoriſe the people of England, and eve- “ ry one of them, to defend them.”

Sir Henry Vane was a Gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Durham; eldeſt ſon to Sir Henry Vane, who had been Secretary of State, and Comptroller of the Houſhold, to the late King. Being ſcandalized with the innovations brought into the public worſhip, he went to New-England, and remained there for the ſpace of five or ſix years; the two laſt of which he was conſecutively choſen Governor of that country, though not exceeding the age of twenty four years. In the beginning of the great parliament, he was elected to ſerve his country among them, without the leaſt application made on his part to that end. And in this ſtation he ſoon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs; poſſeſſing, in the higheſt perfection, a quick and ready apprehenſion, a ſtrong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a juſt and noble eloquence, with an eaſy and graceful manner of ſpeaking. To theſe were added, a ſingular zeal and affection for the good of the commonwealth, and a reſolution and courage not to be ſhaken, or diverted from the public ſervice. He had been removed by the late King from being Treaſurer of the Navy, for performing his duty in the houſe of Commons; and being reſtored to that employment by the parliament, he freely contributed one half of the profits, amounting to the ſum of 2000 l. yearly, towards carrying on the war for the liberties of England. When that war was ended, he put the receipt for the navy in ſuch a way, that, by order of the parliament, the whole expence of that office exceeded not 1000 l. by year; men being brought by this means to underſtand, that they were not placed in employments to ſerve themſelves, but to ſerve the public. And that this conduct was not miſtaken, the ſucceſſes of our arms by ſea againſt Portugal, France, Holland, and other enemies, did abundantly manifeſt. When Cromwel had treacherouſly advanced himſelf upon the ruins of the commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his uſurpation; chuſing rather to ſuffer impriſonment and other hardſhips, than to comply with tyranny under any form. Upon the return of K. Charles, being conſcious to himſelf of having done nothing in relation to public affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully ſuffer, he continued at his houſe in Hampſtead near London; where, under falſe and unworthy pretences, that he had engaged in counſels with ſome of the army to drive him out of England again, he was ſeized, and impriſoned in the Tower: from whence he was carried from one place to another for the ſpace of about two years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his abilities, and knew his integrity, thought convenient to violate the public faith, and, under a form of law, to put him to death.

The King of France, who had been fully informed of the importance of the town of Dunkirk, which had been acquired by the arms of the commonwealth; and that his brother of England, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums he had received from the people, ſtill wanted more to ſupply the exceſſes of his way of living, tempted him with the offer of between 3 and 400,000 l. for that place; which after ſome difficulties was accepted, the bargain ſtruck, and the town ſurrendered to the French: An action ſo infamous that it wants a name, rendering him equally contemptible both to Proteſtants and Papiſts; and ſo aſtoniſhing in the eyes of all Europe, that no man on this ſide the ſea would believe it poſſible, till they found it confirmed from all parts, that the French were actually entered into poſſeſſion.

About the ſame time a treaty was concluded between England and Holland; the foundation of which having been laid in the blood of our three friends before mentioned, the ſuperſtructure was raiſed with the like materials. And the Dutch agreed to an article, importing, That if any who had been the judges of the late King, or otherwiſe excepted from the benefit of the act of indemnity, ſhould be found within their territories, they ſhould upon demand be forthwith delivered into the hands of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the King of England to receive them; and that if any other perſons of the Engliſh nation ſhould at any time be demanded by the King, the States obliged themſelves to ſurrender them alſo, in caſe they ſhould be found in that country fourteen days after ſuch demand made.

In the mean time the Engliſh court, knowing themſelves to be fallen under the hatred and contempt of the people for their cruelty, immorality, and corruption, aggravated by the late ſale of Dunkirk, reſolved, by the contrivance of a plot, to diſarm their enemies, and provide for their preſent ſafety. To this end, by the means of Maj.-Gen. Brown and others, money was advanced, and arms put into the hands of ſome perſons; among whom one Bradley, who had formerly belonged to Cromwel, was the principal; that, by giving ſmall ſums to indigent officers of the late army, and by ſhewing the arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended deſign. An account of this plot was printed and publiſhed, affirming, that divers thouſands of ill-affected perſons were ready, under my command, to ſeize the Tower and the city of London; then to march directly to Whitehall, in order to kill the King and Monk, with a reſolution to give no quarter to any that adhered to them; and after that to declare for a commonwealth. By this means one Baker, who had been of the guard to Cromwel, and ſince the diſbanding of the army had been reduced to grind knives for a poor living, having received half a crown from Bradley, and promiſed his aſſiſtance when there ſhould be occaſion, was executed with ſome others for this conſpiracy. However, this ſerved the court for a pretence to ſeize 5 or 600 perſons; to diſarm all thoſe they ſuſpected; to require thoſe they had taken to give bonds of 200 l. each, not to take up arms againſt the King; and to increaſe their ſtanding guards. They were not aſhamed alſo to give out, that their meſſengers had been ſo near to ſeize my perſon, that they had taken my cloak and ſlippers, and committed two Gentlemen to the Tower for accompanying me, as they ſaid, to the ſea-ſide, in order to my eſcape: though at the ſame time they knew ſo well where I was, that they had employed inſtruments to procure me to be aſſaſſinated in Switzerland; which was diſcovered to a merchant of Lauſanna, by a perſon of quality living in theſe parts, who had refuſed 10,000 crowns offered to him on the part of the Ducheſs of Anjou, ſiſter to his gracious Majeſty, if he would undertake that province.

The Earl of Antrim, an Iriſh Papiſt, and one who had been concerned among the firſt in the rebellion of that country, having been ſeized at

London, as I mentioned before, and afterwards ſent priſoner to Ireland, was ordered, by a letter under the King's hand and ſeal, to be cleared, and ſet at liberty; charging the guilt of that rebellion upon his father; and affirming in the ſaid letter, "That the Earl of Antrim had not "done any thing without warrant and autho"rity from the King his father:" though it was well known, that he had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody work. Thus the maſk was openly taken off, in confidence, that a people deprived of their leaders, diſpirited by the late executions, and awed by the authority of a complying houſe of Commons, would not be able to ſhew their reſentment.

In the months of September and October 1666, we had a conſiderable addition to our company, by the arrival of Mr. William Say, Col. Biſco, Mr. Serjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingſby Bethel, and Mr. Cornelius Holland, at Lauſanna. The three Gentlemen firſt named, having paſſed by Bern in their journey to us, had made a viſit to Mr. Humelius, the Principal Miniſter of that place; who, having a competent knowledge of the Engliſh tongue, had been highly kind and ſerviceable in procuring the order of the Lords of Bern for our protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of civilities, and informed that we were at Lauſanna: which gave us an opportunity of returning our acknowledgment for his favour to our friends and countrymen; with our deſires, that he would be pleaſed to preſent our humble thanks to their Excellencies for their honourable protection; being obliged to uſe this way rather than any other;

ther; not only becauſe of the reſpect he had acquired in that place by his ſingular merit, but becauſe we were not ſufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, to make our addreſſes to the government. Upon the return of his anſwer to our meſſage, we perceived that he had performed our deſires with great affection; and that it was the opinion of our beſt friends there, and in particular of Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, that for many reaſons it would be more convenient for us to remove to Vevay, than to remain longer at Lauſanna. Having received this advice, ſix of us, after we had taken leave of the magiſtrates, who expreſſed their ſorrow for our departure, quitted our reſidence, and went to Vevay. But Mr. Phelps and Col. Biſco, having bought goods at Geneva, and other places, reſolved to try, if, by trading in Germany and Holland, they could improve the ſtock of money they had. Mr. Serjeant Dendy and Mr. Andrew Broughton choſe rather to continue at Lauſanna than to remove with us, yet promiſing to make us frequent viſits where-ever we ſhould reſolve to fix our habitation.

At Vevay we were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection, both from the magiſtrates and people. The public wine was preſented to us in great abundance; and the next morning the Banderet or principal magiſtrate, accompanied by moſt of the members of the council, came to the place where we lay, to give us a viſit; expreſſing themſelves ready to ſerve us to the utmoſt of their power; giving us thanks for the honour they ſaid we did the town, in coming to reſide among them; and aſſuring us, that though they were ſufficiently informed concerning our perſons, and employments, both civil and military; yet the principal motive that inclined them to offer their ſervices in ſo hearty a manner, was, the conſideration of our ſufferings for the liberties of our country. We returned our thanks as well as we could. And the next day having retired to a private houſe, belonging to one Monſ. Dubois, who was one of the council of the town, we were again viſited by the magiſtrates, and preſented with wine; with aſſurances, that their Excellencies of Bern had cauſed them to underſtand, that they would take the civilities they ſhould do to us, as done to themſelves. They acquainted us alſo, that ſeats were ordered for us in both their churches; that the *Commander*, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the firſt time to the one, and the *Chatelain* to the other. Theſe favours ſo conſiderable, ſo cordial, and ſo ſeaſonable, I hope a man in my condition may mention without incurring the charge of oſtentation.

The endleſs prodigality of the Engliſh court, the perſecution of the Diſſenters, the ſale of Dunkirk, the articles exhibited in parliament by the Earl of Briſtol againſt the Chancellor Hyde, and the factions enſuing on that account, together with many other cauſes of diſcontent and diviſion, had ſo alienated the affections of the people from their King, that the beſt judges were of opinion, that if a favourable conjuncture ſhould happen, they would be as ready to ſhake off the yoke, as they had been fooliſh and inconſiderate in putting it on: and our friends in all parts began to entertain hopes, that they might be again employed to reſcue their country from ſervitude. In this poſture of affairs, Col. Algernon Sidney, who, when Monk acted his treacherous part in England, was one of the three plenipotentiaries that had been ſent by the parliament to mediate a peace between the two northern crowns; which they effected in conjunction with the like number impowered by the States of Holland to that end; and ſince that time had reſided at Rome, and other parts of Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that, if an opportunity ſhould offer, he might not be wanting to his duty and the public ſervice. In his way, he was pleaſed to honour us with a viſit in our retirement in Switzerland; aſſuring us of his affection and friendſhip, and no way declining to own us, and the cauſe for which we ſuffered. He favoured us with his company for about three weeks; and, at his departure, preſented me with a pair of piſtols, the barrels of which were made at Breſcia in Lombardy, by old Lazzarino Cominazzo. Deſigning to go for Flanders, where he reſolved to paſs the enſuing winter, he took his journey by the way of Bern, doing all the good offices he could for us with the Advoyer, and other principal magiſtrates; aſſuring them of the great ſenſe we had of their Excellencies favours, and of our deſires to have our acknowledgment preſented to them in the beſt manner; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a conſiderable part of the good people of England by their kindneſs and civilities to us. He had a long conference with the Advoyer about the affairs of England. And, in a letter written to me from Bern, he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a temper rather to add than diminiſh their favours to us. But, upon the whole matter, our Noble friend adviſed, that ſome of us, who might be beſt able to travel, ſhould go to Bern, and pay our compliment to the government in our own perſons; intimating, that ſo generous and public a favour deſerved a public acknowledgment. Having imparted this advice to our friends, Mr. Nicholas Love, and Mr. Andrew Broughton, (who, though uſually reſiding at Lauſanna, was then with us), offered their company; but Mr. Liſle made many objections againſt this undertaking at that time: ſo that we three were obliged to go to Bern in the name of the reſt of the company. Being arrived there, we went firſt to wait on our good friend Mr. Humelius, who received us with great affection, and expreſſed his joy for the reſolution we had taken to preſent our thanks perſonally to their Excellencies. We deſired of him, that ſome means might be found to make our addreſſes with as little ceremony and noiſe as poſſible: which he approved; and promiſed to ſee Mr. Treaſurer Steiger the ſame evening, and to conſult with him, in order to ſerve us according to our deſires; aſſuring us, that the next morning we ſhould hear from them. In conformity to his promiſe, Mr. Humelius came to us in perſon, with aſſurances from the Treaſurer of his affection and ſervices; acquainting us, that we ſhould have the liberty of making our acknowledgment to the council of Bern in our own manner, either by ſpeech or writing, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to us. Upon on which, conſidering our inability to expreſs ourſelves in the French or German language as was requiſite on ſuch an occaſion, we reſolved to do it in writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. Humelius to ſee his children, as he called them; who were orphans of both ſexes, born of poor parents, and bred up by the magiſtracy in a place ſet apart for that purpoſe, all manner of neceſſaries being provided for them, till they ſhould be capable of being employed in ſuch trades as were proper for perſons in their condition. From thence we retired to prepare our addreſs; which we agreed to preſent in the French tongue, as follows.

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſants Souverains, & Très-honorés Seigneurs,

AYant été contraints par l'étrange révolution des affaires d'Angleterre, (le lieu de notre naiſſance), pour éviter l'orage qui nous menaçoit & tous les gens de bien, de quitter notre patrie, après que nous y avions fait notre poſſible pour l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu & le bien de la république, nous avons trouvé une aſſiſtance particuliere du Tout-Puiſſant, en ce qu'il a diſposé vos Excellences à nous ſecourir & protéger au temps de notre adverſité. C'eſt cette faveur que deux de nos compatriotes, & un de nous, ont déja expérimenté par la protection particuliere quil a plu à vos Excellences de leur accorder; les autres ſe repoſant ſur la générale,

que toutes perſonnes pieuſes & paiſibles obtiennent ſous le gouvernement juſte & favorable de vos Excellences.

Comme nous ſommes obligés d'addreſſer nos vœux au Seigneur pour le remercier d'une grace ſi particuliere; auſſi, afin de témoigner à vos Excellences juſqu'où va notre reſſentiment, nous avons pluſieurs fois prié quelques Seigneurs de votre illuſtre ſénat, de vous l'aſſurer de notre part. Mais ayant depuis éprouvé les effets de votre bonté d'une maniere extraordinaire, nous avons cru être obligés de rendre perſonnellement ce devoir à vos Excellences. C'eſt ce que font à préſent deux d'entre nous, de notre propre part, & de celle de ceux qui ont été conſervés par votre protection générale, & un de notre nombre, de ſa propre part, & de celle de Monſieur Guillaume Cawley, à qui vos Excellences ont fait la grace de donner une protection particuliere; qui eſt très-affligé que les infirmités corporelles qui l'accompagnent, le privent du bien & du contentement qu'il auroit reçu, s'il eûſt pu avoir l'avantage de vous témoigner ſa reconnoiſſance en perſonne.

Comme nous avons pris cette occaſion pour vous donner des aſſurances du reſſentiment que nous avons de tant de bonté qu'il a plu à vos Excellences de nous témoigner, nous prenons auſſi ce temps pour vous aſſurer de notre obéiſſance, & de la grande paſſion que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner quelques marques conſidérables, ſi Dieu nous en donne l'occaſion, dont nous ne deſeſpérons point. Cependant nous prierons l'Eternel qu'il veuille fortifier vos Excellences de plus en plus à le ſervir, juſques à ce qu'ayant parachevé le cours de cette vie, vous veniez à recevoir

voir la couronne qui eſt preparée pour ceux qui le craignent,

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſants Souverains,

& Très-honorés Seigneurs,

Vos ſerviteurs très-humbles

& très-obéiſſants,

EDMOND LUDLOW, *&c.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

“ *To the Illuſtrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns, and Moſt Honoured Lords, their Excellencies of Bern.*

“ HAving been conſtrained by the late extraordinary revolution of affairs in England, the place of our birth, for avoiding the ſtorm that threatened us and the good people there, to quit that land, after we had uſed our utmoſt endeavours for the advancement of God’s glory and the good of our country, we find cauſe to admire the goodneſs of the Almighty, for inclining your Excellencies to ſuccour and protect us in this time of our diſtreſs. This favour two of our countrymen, and one of our number, have already received, by virtue of thoſe particular protections which

" it has pleaſed your Excellencies to grant; the " reſt of our company relying on the general " one, that all pious and peaceable perſons en" joy under your Excellencies righteous and juſt " government.

" As we eſteem ourſelves obliged to bleſs God " for this ſignal and eſpecial favour; ſo alſo, to " teſtify to your Excellencies our grateful ac" knowledgment, we have divers times deſired " ſome of the Honourable Lords of this illuſtrious " ſenate to preſent you with our moſt humble " thanks: but every day more and more experi" encing the effects of your goodneſs and favour, " we have thought ourſelves obliged perſonally " to pay this duty to your Excellencies. This " two of us do at this time for our ourſelves, " and in the behalf of others who have been " preſerved by virtue of your general protection; " and one of us for himſelf, and on the part of " Mr. William Cawley, one of thoſe to whom " your Excellencies have been pleaſed to grant " a particular protection; who finds himſelf " ſenſibly afflicted, that the infirmities of his " body do now deprive him of the happineſs " and ſatisfaction he ſhould have received, if he " could have tendered his duty in perſon.

" Having taken this occaſion to teſtify the " deep ſenſe we have of your Excellencies fa" vours, we deſire leave to aſſure you of our " obedience, and the ambition we have to give " ſome ſignal teſtimony of our gratitude to your " Excellencies, if God ſhall favour us with an " opportunity, of which we do not deſpair. " In the mean time, that God will fortify your " Excellencies in his ſervice, till having finiſh" ed your courſe in this world, you ſhall

" receive the crown prepared for thoſe that fear " him, ſhall be the prayer of,

" *Illuſtrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,*
" *and Moſt Honoured Lords,*
" *Your moſt humble and*
" *moſt obedient ſervants,*

" EDMUND LUDLOW, *&c.*"

We had ſcarce finiſhed this paper, when Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, accompanied by Mr. Humelius, came to our lodging; and having acquainted us that he ſhould not have failed to be with us in the morning, if the public affairs had not required his preſence at the council, he made us the offer of his ſervices in a moſt affectionate manner; and declared his reſolution to aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of his power; expreſſing his deteſtation of the late action of the States of Holland, in delivering up our friends into the hands of their mortal enemies, and purchaſing the ſecurity of their trade with ſo much ſhame to themſelves. When we had anſwered his civilities in the beſt manner we could, and given him our thanks for the offers of his favour, we ſhewed him the paper above mentioned; which having peruſed and approved, he deſired Mr. Humelius to accompany us to the Advoyer, (or Preſident of the council, by whoſe hands all addreſſes paſs to their Excellencies), and took his leave for that time.

The Advoyer being informed that we were waiting to preſent ourſelves to him, gave orders for our admittance, and received us with great kindneſs; expreſſing his ſenſe of the juſtice of that cauſe which we had defended, and for which we then ſuffered, together with the eſteem, which he aſſured us their Excellencies in general, and himſelf in particular, had of our perſons. We deſired him to believe, that we had the deepeſt ſenſe of his and their Excellencies favour; attributing the civilities and reſpect we had received as well from the magiſtrates as from the people in all places within the territories of their Excellencies, to the bounty and favour of the government towards us. To which he replied, That he was very glad their officers, and others of their ſubjects, had ſo well performed their duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occaſion of our coming to Bern, I delivered the addreſs into his hands, with our humble deſires that it might be preſented to their Excellencies; which when he had read, and intimated that my name was not unknown to him, he aſſured us with much affection, that he would not fail to preſent it to their Excellencies, and to return a ſpeedy anſwer. I would have ſaved him that trouble; and therefore told him that we expected no anſwer, and deſired no more than their Excellencies acceptance of our humble acknowledgments. But he ſaid we ſhould have an anſwer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having diſpatched this buſineſs, we went to take a view of the public buildings, particularly that where the ſenate and council of two hundred are uſed to aſſemble. The chambers are oppoſite to each other, and divided by a narrow paſſage; on both ſides of which are rooms for the reception of ſuch as have any affairs in either of thoſe places. From thence we were conducted to the arſenal; where we ſaw a train of artillery conſiſting of about 100 pieces of all kind of ordnance, with ammunition and all things neceſſary. There were arms, as I conjectured, ſufficient for about 20,000 foot, and a proportionable number of horſe. But I confeſs nothing that I ſaw gave me greater ſatisfaction, than to find a ſtatue erected in one of the chambers of the arſenal, to the memory of William Tel, who may in great meaſure be called the founder of this commonwealth. For when a certain Knight called Griſler, who was Governor of Ury and Suitz, after many repeated acts of tyranny, had wantonly cauſed a cap to be ſet on the top of a pole in the market-place of Altorf, commanding all thoſe who ſhould paſs that way to uncover their heads, and to pay the ſame honours to the cap, as if he himſelf had been there preſent in perſon; William Tel refuſed to obey; and, for his diſobedience, was ſentenced by Griſler to be put to death, unleſs he could with one arrow hit an apple that ſhould be placed on the head of his ſon. To this hard condition he was compelled to ſubmit; and, on the day appointed, in the preſence of the Governor, ſtruck the apple with his arrow from the child's head. But Griſler having obſerved, that he had brought with him two arrows, though he might uſe no more than one; and deſiring to be informed why he had ſo done, William Tel, upon the Governor's promiſe that he ſhould not be put to death, acknowledged, that if he had killed his ſon with the one, he would have revenged his blood on the tyrant with the other. The

Governor, conſcious of his own crimes, and therefore fearing the reſolution of ſuch a man, though he would not put him to death, reſolved to impriſon him during life; and, to that end, cauſed him to be tied, and thrown into a boat, with intention to ſee him ſecurely laid in the dungeon of the ſtrong caſtle of Cuſnach. After they had been ſome time upon the lake of Ury, a violent ſtorm ariſing, the Governor finding his life in great danger, and knowing Tel to be an expert waterman, cauſed him to be unbound, that he might help to ſave the lives of himſelf and company. This he undertook to do; and ſteering towards Suitz, brought the boat ſo near the ſhore, that, taking up his croſs-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a rock, (called to this day *the ſtone of Tel*), puſhed off the boat with his foot, and made his eſcape into the mountains. In the mean time, the Governor lay floating in his boat upon the water; and, not without great danger and difficulty, at laſt arrived in the port of Brunn; from whence he continued his way to Cuſnach. Of which William Tel being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the woods and hills, he poſted himſelf in a private place by which the tyrant was to paſs, and with his croſs-bow ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. The ſucceſs of this action ſo animated the reſt of his aſſociates, who had formed a deſign to reſtore the liberty of their country, that, on a day appointed, they ſeized their Governors, demoliſhed the caſtles where they lived, baniſhed them and their families, and bravely freed themſelves from that tyranny which they could not bear. Beſides the ſtatue of William Tel taken in full proportion, ſtanding with a croſs-bow in his hand, and aiming at an apple on a child's head, there is alſo a ſtatue of the firſt Advoyer, with two more of perſons who were principally eminent in eſtabliſhing the commonwealth, armed *de cap en pied*, and one of them on horſeback, to encourage others to defend that liberty which their anceſtors had purchaſed for them.

This night as we were at ſupper, we received a compliment from the Advoyer, accompanied with a preſent of wine: and the next morning an order was brought to Mr. Humelius, who was then with us, from their Excellencies of Bern, written in the German tongue; which, being tranſlated by him into Engliſh, contained as follows.

" *September* 3. 1663.

" CONcerning the three Engliſh Gentlemen " who have for ſome time reſided at Vevay, and have this day preſented in our aſſembly of council their thanks for our protection formerly granted to them; it is reſolved, that they ſhall be ſaluted on our part with a preſent of wine; and that Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger, and you our Doyne, do acquaint them with our affection and good-will to them, and aſſure them of the continuation of the ſame for the time to come."

Mr. Humelius, after he had read this order, informed us, that the Gentlemen therein mentioned, with ſome other magiſtrates, deſigned to dine with us that day, and had deſired him to accompany them. Accordingly, between eleven and twelve, Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, Col. Weiſs, and one more of the twenty four Senators, in the room of Mr. Kilberger, who was diverted by ſome public buſineſs, attended by the Grand Sautier with his mace, and three other Gentlemen, came to us at our lodging; where, after about an hour's diſcourſe, Mr. Treaſurer, being informed that the dinner was ſet upon the table, invited us to go down into the hall; and with great civility placed our company: which being done, he ordered the Grand Sautier to lay aſide his mace. After we had ſat about a quarter of an hour, two officers, clothed in their Excellencies livery, brought in the preſent of wine that had been ordered. Upon which one of the three Gentlemen who came with Mr. Treaſurer, ariſing from the table, harangued us in the name of their Excellencies; concluding with an aſſurance of the continuation of their favour. To this we thought ourſelves obliged to anſwer, That as we owed our lives and liberties to the protection of their Excellencies, we reſolved to ſacrifice all in their ſervice, when we ſhould be ſo happy to find an occaſion.

Dinner being over, a queſtion was ſtarted by Col. Weiſs, How it came to paſs, that we, who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in our hands, were removed from the government without ſhedding one drop of blood? To which I anſwered, That, for the right underſtanding of the affairs that had lately paſſed in England, it would be neceſſary to take up the matter from the beginning. But they preſſing me to favour them with ſome account of thoſe tranſactions, I told them with all the brevity I could, "That moſt of thoſe perſons who had

" firſt engaged in the war, having made their
" own peace, had endeavoured to deliver us and
" the cauſe itſelf into the hands of our enemies;
" and though they had many opportunities to
" have ended the diſpute, by deſtroying the
" King's army, they neglected all, and only
" endeavoured to reduce the crown to their own
" terms. This was viſible in the conduct of
" the Earl of Eſſex on ſeveral occaſions; and in
" that of the Earl of Mancheſter after the battle
" of Newberry; who, though he had 20,000
" men in his army, fluſhed with that victory,
" yet ſuffered the King with 7000 only to carry
" off the cannon he had left at a place which
" ſtood near the ground where he had been
" routed a few weeks before, without once of-
" fering to attack him; giving this, at a council
" of war, for the reaſon of his refuſing to fight,
" *That if the King were beaten twenty times by*
" *us, he would be ſtill King; but if he ſhould*
" *once beat us, we ſhould be all treated as trai-*
" *tors:* for which being accuſed in the houſe
" of Commons, though they thought not con-
" venient to proceed againſt him criminally;
" yet upon this, and divers other conſiderations,
" they removed him, together with the Earl of
" Eſſex, and the reſt of the Nobility, from their
" commands in the army; making choice of
" Commoners to fill their places, whoſe intereſt
" they knew it was to take away the monarchy
" itſelf. By this means, they ſoon put an end
" to the war, ſentenced the King to die for the
" blood that had been ſhed, eſtabliſhed a free
" commonwealth, brought their enemies at
" home to ſubmit to their authority, and redu-
" ced thoſe abroad to accept ſuch terms as they
" would

" would give. In the midſt of all this proſpe-
" rity they were betrayed by Oliver Cromwel,
" whom they had intruſted with the command
" of their army; who, having moulded the
" greateſt part of the officers to his purpoſe, by
" calumniating the parliament, propoſing ad-
" vancement to the ambitious, and deluding
" the ſimple with a ſhew of religion; backed
" by the aſſiſtance of the clergy and lawyers,
" (who had been threatened by the parliament
" with a reformation of their practices); eject-
" ed his maſters, and uſurped their authority;
" endeavouring, during the five years of his
" reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the
" intereſt of the commonwealth, and advan-
" cing thoſe who would not ſcruple to ſacrifice
" their conſciences to his ambition. By theſe
" ways the army became ſo corrupted, that
" though, after the uſurper's death, they had
" been perſuaded with great difficulty to depoſe
" the ſon, and to permit the reſtitution of the
" parliament; yet they were ſoon after indu-
" ced, under frivolous pretences, to offer vio-
" lence to them a ſecond time: which render-
" ing them odious to the people, gave an op-
" portunity to Monk, by declaring for the par-
" liament, to divide their counſels, and to ren-
" der them uſeleſs. And when the parliament
" had in gratitude for their reſtitution conferred
" many undeſerved favours upon Monk, he al-
" ſo, who had been a creature of Cromwel, and
" advanced by him, betrayed his truſt; and,
" contrary to many proteſtations, oaths, and
" ſolemn aſſeverations, brought a great num-
" ber of perſons to vote in parliament, who
" had formerly been ejected by the houſe;

" which turned the balance from the ſide of the " commonwealth; and, under the influence of " his forces, brought in the ſon of the late " King."

Though the brevity of this account would not admit of that clearneſs and perſpicuity which I could have wiſhed, yet our generous friends were not only willing to pardon the imperfections, but gave me thanks for the information they ſaid I had given them of our affairs; expreſſing themſelves deeply ſenſible of the troubles that had fallen upon us, and the honeſt intereſt, by ſo baſe a treachery.

After this converſation, the Senators riſing from their ſeats, we gave them thanks for the honours they had been pleaſed to do us; and, according to our duty, offered to accompany them to their reſpective habitations. But theſe truly noble perſons would by no means permit us: and being deſirous that their favours to us ſhould be yet more public, they invited us to go to the church, that all men might ſee they were not aſhamed to own what they had done. To this end, Mr. Treaſurer Steiger having ordered the mace to be carried before him, conſtrained me to take the right hand, Monſ. Humelius and Col. Weiſs doing the like to Mr. Love and Mr. Broughton; obliging us to enter the church before them, and placing us in the moſt honourable ſeats: neither could we prevail with them to go out before us from the place of public worſhip, or to permit us to accompany them to their houſes. The next day we went to wait on the Advoyer, who was then preparing for his embaſſy to France, where he and another perſon were appointed to repreſent the canton of Bern;

and having acquainted him with the deep impreſſion their Excellencies and his favours had made upon us, he expreſſed himſelf highly ſenſible of our condition, and heartily deſirous of our reſtitution; with aſſurances of his farther ſervices on all occaſions, and promiſing the like favour and protection to as many of our countrymen as ſhould come to them. At our taking leave, he accompanied us to the outward gate, as in the firſt viſit; and when we told him he had exceeded in the honours done to us, he condeſcended to ſay, That in his own account he had never received ſo much honour in his life. After this, we paid our reſpects and thanks to Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, to the ancient Bailiff Monſ. Lentulus, to Col. Weiſs, and to our true friend Monſ. Humelius, with divers others of the ſenate and council. And being deſirous to wait alſo on Gen. D'Erlach, who, we were informed, had much favoured us in the buſineſs of our protection; we went to his houſe, but he was gone out of town, and we had not the advantage to ſee him at that time.

Having been thus ſucceſsful in our affairs at Bern, we returned to our reſidence at Vevay; where we had not been long, before we were informed, that an Iriſhman, going under the name of Riardo, and belonging, as he ſaid, to the Ducheſs of Orleans, was arrived at Turin, and had formed a deſign againſt our lives; and that Mr. Denzil Hollis, ſince the late revolution called Lord Hollis, and at that time Ambaſſador in France, had been with one Monſ. Lullin, who was agent at Paris for the republic of Geneva, to deſire ſatisfaction for a book which he ſuppoſed to be printed in that place in favour of thoſe who had been condemned for putting the late King to death. But that which alarmed us moſt, was a report, that letters had been ſent from the King of England to their Excellencies of Bern, to demand our perſons. Of this information having given an account to Mr. Humelius, and deſired him to uſe his diligence in finding out the truth of theſe things; we ſoon received in anſwer, That he had heard nothing of the two firſt: and as to the laſt, he aſſured us, that no letters of that ſort from England were yet come to the hands of their Excellencies; but if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, he would not fail to give us timely notice and advice for our government on ſuch an occaſion. By a ſecond, which we received from him ſoon after, he informed us, That Gen. D'Erlach had acquainted him with the arrival of a courier from France, who had brought letters for their Ambaſſador, together with particular orders to inform himſelf, whether their Excellencies of Bern might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at leaſt to withdraw their protection from us. But not finding the Ambaſſador in the country, (he having taken a journey to the court of France, to be preſent at the reception of the Swiſs Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent thither to ratify the treaty lately concluded with that King), he was returned to Paris, and had carried his letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe, that our enemies, upon information of the honourable reception we had found from their Excellencies, were entirely diſcouraged from attempting any thing in that way; and therefore turned their malice againſt us into deſigns of violence and aſſaſſination.

Divers letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, which we and our friends at Vevay received, were full of advices from thoſe parts, that ſo many, and ſuch deſperate perſons had engaged againſt us, that it would be next to impoſſible to eſcape their hands. And one of my beſt friends, who was then at Geneva, ſent a meſſenger expreſs to me, with a letter to inform me, That he had received a billet from a perſon who knew our friendſhip, and deſired not to be known, with theſe expreſſions at the end, "If you wiſh the preſervation of the Engliſh General at Vevay, let him know, that he muſt remove from thence with ſpeed, if he have any regard to his own ſafety." We alſo received certain information, that Riardo had been ſeen in the Pais de Vaux, and in ſeveral parts of Savoy. Being ſomewhat alarmed with theſe things, our company met, in order to conſult what was fit to be done on this occaſion; and ſoon came to a reſolution, that we would not remove into any country that was governed by a monarch, leſt we ſhould be guilty of our own blood, by ſeeking protection from thoſe who were concerned in intereſt to deſtroy us. It remained only to conſider, whether we ſhould quit the place of our preſent reſidence for any other under the ſame government; or whether we ſhould remove from the territories of Bern to ſome other republic. The firſt we were unwilling to do for many reſpects, and particularly on account of the good-will and affection that the people had expreſſed to us: and to the ſecond we could by no means conſent, becauſe the protection of their Excellencies had been ſo frankly, publicly, and generouſly extended to us.

So that, having determined to remain at Vevay, and being informed that a fair would be kept there in a few days, we contented ourſelves with changing our lodging for one night, and procuring the guard of the town to be doubled during the day of the fair, leſt our enemies ſhould diſguiſe themſelves, and, mixing with the concourſe of people, paſs unſuſpected, till they might find an opportunity of ſurpriſing us.

According to our information, ſome of the villains who were employed to deſtroy us, had, on the 14th of November 1663, paſſed the lake from Savoy, in order to put their bloody deſign in execution the next day, as we ſhould be going to the church. They arrived at Vevay about an hour after ſun-ſet; and having divided themſelves, one part took up their quarters in one inn, and the other in another. The next day being Sunday, Monſieur Dubois, our landlord, going early to the church, diſcovered a boat at the ſide of the lake, with four watermen in her, their oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the boat ſtood two perſons with cloaks thrown over their ſhoulders, two ſitting under a tree, and two more in the ſame poſture a little way from them. Monſieur Dubois concluding they had arms under their cloaks, and that theſe perſons had waylaid us, with a deſign to murder us as we ſhould be going to the ſermon, pretending to have forgotten ſomething, returned home, and adviſed us of what he had obſerved. In his way to us he had met one Mr. Binet; who acquainted him, that two men, whom he ſuſpected of ſome bad intention, had poſted themſelves near his houſe, and that four more had been ſeen in the market-place; but that, finding themſelves obſerved, they had all retired towards the lake. By this means, the way leading to the church through the town being cleared, we went to the ſermon without any moleſtation, and ſaid nothing to any-man of what we had heard, becauſe we had not yet certainly found that they had a deſign againſt us. Returning from church I was informed, that the ſuſpected perſons were all dining at one of the inns; which excited my curioſity to take a view of the boat. Accordingly I went with a ſmall company, and found the four watermen by the boat, the oars laid in their places, a great quantity of ſtraw in the bottom of the boat, and all things ready to put off. About an hour after dinner I met our landlord; and having inquired of him concerning the perſons before mentioned, he aſſured me they could be no other than a company of rogues; that they had arms under the ſtraw of the boat; and that they had cut the withes that held the oars of the town-boats, to prevent any purſuit if they ſhould be forced to fly. But theſe ruffians, who had obſerved the actions of Monſieur Dubois, and ſuſpected he would cauſe them to be ſeized, came down ſoon after I had viewed the boat, and in great haſte cauſed the watermen to put off, and returned to Savoy. This diſcovery being made, the Chatelain, the Banderet, together with all the magiſtrates and people of the town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that ſo they might have been ſeized. We afterwards underſtood, that one Du Poſe of Lyons, Monſieur Du Pre a Savoyard, (of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely), one Ceriſe of Lyons, with Riardo before mentioned, were part of this crew; and that Riardo paid the whole expence they made at Vevay.

The Bailiff, the Chatelain, and the whole council, ſhewing themſelves highly ſenſible of this affront offered to the government of their Excellencies, and of the injury done to us, the Banderet gave order, that the boats of the town ſhould be ready to attack them in caſe they ſhould return to make any attempt againſt us. They not only offered us a guard for the ſafety of our houſe, but condeſcended to tell us, that they were ready to do that office themſelves. The Bailiff directed the Chatelain to require all the inn-keepers every night to give an account upon oath, either to him, or to Monſieur Dubois our landlord, of all perſons that ſhould come to lodge at their houſes; and the council of the town ordered, that no burgeſs ſhould entertain any man for whom they would not anſwer. Their Excellencies of Bern alſo being informed of this attempt, ſent their orders to the Bailiffs of Lauſanna, Morges, and Vevay, to take ſpecial care of our perſons, and to ſearch all boats coming from Savoy, of which they ſhould have any ſuſpicion.

Monſ. Du Pre finding himſelf diſappointed in this enterprize, and fearing that, for this affront to their Excellencies of Bern, he might be deprived of the profits of ſome lands lying within their territories, of which he had lately taken poſſeſſion after a long ſuit at law in the right of his wife, and which had been ſequeſtred from him, becauſe he had violently carried her out of their country before marriage, procured one of my good friends at Geneva to write to me on his behalf, and to inform me, that he had no otherwiſe engaged in this affair than to do me ſervice. Our landlord alſo being unwilling to provoke him any further, knowing the deſperate reſolution of the man, deſired, that if I ſhould write to any of my friends at Bern concerning this attempt, I would only name Riardo, who was confeſſed to be the principal undertaker. But though I thought it not proper for us to be the accuſers and proſecutors of thoſe who were concerned in this deſign; yet, not being able to ſee any reaſon to do as was deſired in his behalf, I reſolved to leave the whole matter to the wiſdom of their Excellencies; who, after they had received the report of thoſe in our parts to whom they had committed the examination of this affair, being aſſured that Monſieur Du Pre was one of that number, ſeized again into their hands the eſtate he had enjoyed in the right of his wife.

Our enemies ſtill giving out in all places where they durſt, that they would not deſiſt till they had effected their deſign, I received a letter from a good friend, in which I found theſe words. "You are hated and feared more than all the "reſt of your companions: your head is ſet at "a great price: it is againſt you they take all "this pains to find aſſaſſins, and it was on your "account they contrived the late attempt: ſo "that upon the whole matter I cannot but adviſe, that you would reſolve to retire to ſome "place where you may be unknown; there being, "in my opinion, no other way left to ſecure "you from the rage of your enemies." But having ſtrengthened our houſe, and made the beſt proviſion we could for our defence, being aſſured of the affections both of the magiſtrates and people of the town, and the government having given me power to ring the alarm-bell upon occaſion, and to that end contrived it ſo that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates, I reſolved not to remove; eſpecially conſidering that thoſe who had made the late attempt, being for the moſt part well known, had rendered themſelves incapable of returning again to Vevay: whereas if we ſhould have removed to any other place, the ſame perſons would have found greater facility to execute their deſign. As to that part of the advice, tending to perſuade me to go to ſome place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any ſuch within the territories of their Excellencies; and out of them I reſolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by letters from England, That Riardo having been at that court to give account of the ill ſucceſs of the late attempt againſt us, was not only well received by the King, but diſpatched with new orders to carry on the ſame deſign; and that in his paſſage through France he had been with the Ducheſs of Orleans, who was the principal inſtrument uſed by his gracious Majeſty for encouraging and carrying on this manly attempt. I was alſo aſſured from France that, in a letter to that King, he had acquainted him, that not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as the principal traitors were alive, he deſired his aſſiſtance to ſeize or deſtroy thoſe that were on that ſide the ſea, and particularly thoſe in Switzerland.

In proſecution of the orders that had been ſent from their Excellencies of Bern, the Bailiff of Morges having notice that one of the watermen who had brought the aſſaſſins from Savoy to Vevay was in that town, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Chillion, which is the place of reſidence for the Bailiff of Vevay. On the firſt of January we were invited by the Bailiff to a public entertainment in the caſtle, and by that means were preſent at his examination. For ſome time he confeſſed nothing material; but being found to contradict himſelf in his anſwers, and therefore threatened with the ſtrapado by the Bailiff, and the Baron de Chatteler, he ſeeing the cord made ready, informed them, That one Monſieur De la Broette, and Monſieur Du Fargis, both Savoyards, were among thoſe who came in the boat with Du Pre; and that one of the four watermen was the perſon who cut the withes of all the town-boats, to prevent them from purſuing: adding, that Du Pre told them at their return to Savoy, that if they had ſucceeded in their enterprize, they ſhould have had money enough; but conſtantly denying that he knew any thing of the deſign till it had miſcarried.

Yet neither the care of the government to provide by their juſtice for our future ſafety, nor the diſappointment of the aſſaſſins in their late attempt, could remove the fears our friends had entertained of new deſigns againſt our perſons, or perſuade them to believe that we could be ſafe whilſt we remained in the place where we were. Among others, Mr. Treaſurer Steiger wrote a letter to the Bailiff of Vevay, in which he deſired him to perſuade us to remove our quarters either to Yverden, Lauſanna, or ſome other place that was near the centre of their Excellencies territories, where they might be better tenable to defend us, than he doubted they could at preſent, by reaſon of the advantages that the ſituation of the lake afforded to our enemies; who, he ſaid, might come by water from Savoy, or Verſoy, a place belonging to the French, to the foot of our garden-wall, without fear of ſurpriſe or diſcovery; aſſuring him, that having been the firſt adviſer of our ſettlement at Vevay, if any ill ſhould happen to us whilſt we continued in that place, he ſhould account himſelf the moſt unhappy man in the world. The Bailiff having communicated this letter to me, I anſwered, That our company was extremely obliged to Mr. Treaſurer Steiger for the care he expreſſed to be upon him for our ſafety; but that our diſeaſe being entirely perſonal, and not at all local, we ſhould, in my opinion, be ſo far from mending upon the change of air, that I feared we ſhould render our condition worſe, by going to a place where we were not known, and putting ourſelves under the neceſſity of making new friends, which, by the favour and goodneſs of the magiſtrates and people, we had already acquired at Vevay; that therefore we ſhould willingly acquit Mr. Treaſurer and all our friends from the blame of whatever might befal us, and take the conſequences of our ſtay upon ourſelves. With theſe and other reaſons, the Bailiff, and by his means the reſt of our friends, were ſo well ſatisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a letter from one Monſ. De la Fleſchere, a near relation of that Monſ. Du Pre who was one of the twelve that came to aſſaſſinate us at Vevay; in which he declared his deteſtation of that villainy, and promiſed to inform me from time to time of what he ſhould learn of their deſigns; acquainting me of their intentions to attack us in our way to the church, which was without the town; and therefore adviſing, that I ſhould go ſeldom thither, and never without company, and well armed. He counſelled us by all means to keep together, and not to ſeparate as he was informed we intended to do; and that we ſhould continue in the place where we were, becauſe the lake was a great impediment to our enemies deſigns; who, he ſaid, aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs in their enterprize, if we ſhould go to Yverden, Lauſanna, or any other place, from whence they might make their eſcape on horſeback.

Divers other advertiſements of deſigns againſt us coming to our hands about the ſame time, moſt of them naming me to be the perſon againſt whom the malice was principally directed, and inſinuating, that the reſt of our company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account; Mr. Liſle either really was, or pretended to be ſo alarmed, that he withdrew himſelf from us, and went to Lauſanna, under colour, that expecting a viſit from his Lady in the month of May next enſuing, he was unwilling ſhe ſhould come to Vevay, leſt it ſhould prove prejudicial to her after her return to England. Before he left us, he made his will; and took leave of the magiſtrates, and of all his friends in the town, in a ſolemn manner. At our parting, I took liberty to deſire him to take the beſt care he could of himſelf, and not to be too confident of his ſecurity, upon ſuppoſition that I was the only perſon marked out for deſtruction; ſince he well knew, that at a conſult held by our enemies at

Chatillon, they had inquired after him as well as myſelf: I adjured him therefore to be upon his guard, leſt preſuming too much upon ſafety, he might betray himſelf into their hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Liſle, I received advice by the means of Monſ. de la Fleſchere, that Du Poſe and Ceriſe of Lyons, with one St. Du, had been at Tunno, a place lying upon the lake, to confer with Du Pre, De la Broette and Du Fargis, about reſuming their former deſign, and that they had paſſed moſt part of the night in the wood of Courent; where it had been at laſt reſolved, that they would come no more to Vevay by the way of the lake; but that the next attempt ſhould be made by a ſmaller number of perſons on foot, with horſes kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of Chillion, St. Dennis, or Lauſanna. Of all which I gave notice to Mr. Liſle, who, with others of our friends and countrymen, was then at Lauſanna.

About eight days after, one Monſ. Du Moulin of Vevay, going towards Lauſanna, diſcovered in a lane not far from the lake on the way of Safron, three perſons well mounted and armed, with one on foot; and thinking them to have no good deſign, he ſent a ſervant to obſerve them; who upon his return confirming him in his ſuſpicion, Monſ. Du Moulin diſmounted, and taking up the foot of his horſe, to induce them to believe he only wanted a ſhoe, he returned immediately to Vevay. But they ſuſpecting themſelves to be diſcovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made ſo much haſte away, that before the people of the town could reach the place where they had been ſeen, they were arrived at Safron; and having a boat, which had brought them in the morning from Savoy, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their eſcape. They had ſent two perſons on foot into the town to aſſaſſinate me by ſtabbing or ſhooting, and theſe horſemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards underſtood: but that the town being raiſed by the information of Monſ. Du Moulin, they alſo had thought convenient to ſhift for themſelves.

On the 21ſt of July 1664, we were informed, that ſome Savoyards had landed in the harbour of Ouches belonging to Lauſanna, and had let fall ſome words of a deſign againſt the Engliſh there. Upon which ſome of their friends having notice, went to the Burgomaſter, in order to procure his warrant to ſeize, and bring them to be examined before him. But the Burgomaſter refuſing to do any thing in the matter without the advice of the Bailiff, they went to the caſtle; where, finding the bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that night. The next morning they went again to the caſtle; and having acquainted the Bailiff with what they had heard, he preſently granted his warrant, and ordered the Fiſcal to ſummon the Savoyards before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their boat, and were put off, before the warrant could be ſerved upon them. Yet it was ſuppoſed, that if the town-boats had been ordered to purſue them, they might eaſily have ſeized, and brought them in; for they were within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore when the officer came to the port with the warrant, the lake very rough, and the wind directly in their teeth.

However, I muſt nót omit, that theſe villains had been ſeen to ſtand by the door of the church, where Mr. Liſle uſed to go, all the time the people were going into the ſermon; but neither he nor any of our countrymen coming to the church that morning, they departed in a rage, one of them ſaying, *Le B..gre ne viendra pas*: which words, though they were not obſerved at the time, yet were afterwards too well underſtood.

Mr. Liſle having received advice from the Lieutenant Balival, that a certain Frenchman, who uſed to engrave upon ſeals and diſhes at Vevay, Lauſanna, and other places, had informed theſe Savoyards of the way they ſhould take for the execution of their wicked deſign, procured an officer of juſtice to demand him at his lodging in Lauſanna; where being informed that he was gone to Vevay, a meſſage was diſpatched to me, that I might cauſe him to be ſeized. Accordingly the Bailiff, at my requeſt, granted a warrant for taking him into cuſtody. But he having heard how things had paſſed at Lauſanna, and ſuppoſing the alarm to be over, was returned thither. Of which the government of the town having advice, they cauſed him to be ſeized, and carried before the Burgomaſter; who, after a ſlight examination, contented himſelf with baniſhing him from their juriſdiction. And now Mr. Liſle began to think, that he had not much better provided for his ſecurity by abandoning Vevay.

On the Wedneſday of the ſame week, two men in the habit of grooms, mounted upon good horſes, came to lodge at an inn in Vevay. Of which our landlord having recei- notice, (according to an order of the

Bailiff and Chatelain formerly ſignified to all innkeepers), he went to the houſe where they were; and, upon examination, was aſſured by them, that they belonged to a German Count, who was then at the baths in the Pais des Vallées; that they were by his order come to this place to wait his return, and that they had already ſent a meſſenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home; and, having acquainted me with what had paſſed, earneſtly deſired, that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time theſe pretended grooms continued at Vevay till the Thurſday in the following week; when one coming from the baths before mentioned, aſſured, that no ſuch perſon as theſe fellows deſcribed, had been there: which added to a threatening meſſage ſent by our landlord to the innkeeper for entertaining ſuch rogues, they haſtened away, and went to Lauſanna.

On Thurſday the 11th of Auguſt 1664, one Monſ. Longeon of Lauſanna brought me the ſad news, that Mr. Liſle going that morning to hear the ſermon in the church that ſtood near the town-gate, was ſhot dead by a perſon on foot, who had a companion waiting for him on horſeback, with a led horſe in his hand; which the murderer having mounted, and cried *Vive le Roy*, they immediately rode away together towards Morges. Soon after this barbarous murder was committed, we underſtood from Lauſanna by the deſcription of the perſons, their cloaths and horſes, that they were the ſame that had lodged at Vevay. They had continued for a week in Lauſanna before they found an opportunity to put in execution their deteſtable plot, and had carried themſelves with ſuch indiſcretion, that divers perſons ſuſpected them to have a deſign againſt the Engliſh. Of which Mr. Liſle being informed, he ſent his landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had ſo well contrived their ſtory, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many perſons upon ſuſpicion of theſe fellows had deſired Mr. Liſle to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the church he uſed; becauſe it lay ſo near the town-gate, that if any perſons ſhould make an attempt againſt him, they might with little difficulty eſcape by that way. Our countrymen alſo who were with him, performed the ſame office. But he would by no means hearken to their advice; ſaying, he was in the hands of God, and had committed himſelf entirely to his protection; adding to this anſwer, that my life was his defence, and that till our enemies had diſpatched me, he aſſured himſelf they would not think of him. The villain that murdered him, had waited his coming at a barber's ſhop, where he pretended to want ſomething for his teeth; till ſeeing Mr. Liſle at a diſtance, he ſtept out of the ſhop, and as he came by, ſaluted him. Then following him into the church-yard, he drew a carabine from under his cloak, and ſhot him into the back. With the recoil of the piece the villain's hat was beaten off; and he himſelf falling over a piece of timber, dropped his gun, which he left behind him; and as ſoon as he had recovered himſelf, running to his companion who held the led horſe, he mounted, and made his eſcape. Thus died John Liſle, Eſq; ſon to Sir William Liſle of the Iſle of Wight, a member of the great parliament, one of the council of ſtate, commiſſioner of the great ſeal, and one of the aſſiſtants to the Lord Preſident in the high court of juſtice that was erected for the trial of the late King. The government of Lauſanna was ſo remiſs in the purſuit of the aſſaſſins, that it was ſuſpected they had ſome friends among them. And of this the villains themſelves ſeemed to give proof: for before they had advanced half a league on their way, calling to ſome men who were working in the vineyards, they bid them give their ſervice to the Governors of Lauſanna, and tell them they would drink their healths. But the common people openly cried out againſt the Burgomaſter, and accuſed him of having favoured the aſſaſſins. And, that I may do juſtice to the Bailiff of Lauſanna, who had been abſent for ſome time from the town upon public buſineſs, I muſt not omit, that when he heard of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Liſle, he ſaid, that if he had been at Lauſanna, thoſe villains ſhould not have continued ſo long there without interruption.

Upon this we received a great number of letters from our friends in ſeveral parts, to inform us of the rage of our enemies, and of their reſolution to leave no means of deſtroying us unattempted; ſome of them having affirmed, that if they could not accompliſh their deſign either by ſtabbing, poiſoning, or ſhooting, they were reſolved to attempt us even in our lodgings. Theſe advices, together with the death of Mr. Liſle, ſo alarmed my companions at Vevay, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain reſolution, every one making a different propoſition touching the way we ſhould take to provide for our ſafety; though for my own part I thought nothing ſo rational, as to fortify our intereſt in that place, where the magiſtrates and people had been always more ready to oblige and ſerve us, than we could be to aſk any favour from them. To this end, with the concurrence of my countrymen, which I at laſt obtained, I went to M. Geoffray, who was then Chatelain and Deputy-Bailiff of Vevay, acquainting him with the letters we had lately received: and he readily offering to do whatever ſhould be in his power for our ſervice, I propoſed, That, conſidering the deſign of our enemies was either to ſurpriſe us, as they had done in relation to Mr. Liſle, or (all other means failing) to attempt us by open violence; for prevention of both, orders might be iſſued out to the town of Vevay, and to the other towns and villages of that juriſdiction, to ſeize and examine ſuch perſons as they ſhould find cauſe to ſuſpect; and that, upon the ſound of the great bell at Vevay, upon the firing of a great gun, or the view of a fire upon any of the towers of the ſaid place, they ſhould take arms, ſecure the paſſes, and ſeize all unknown perſons, in order to carry them before the Bailiff, and that if theſe ſignals ſhould happen to be given in the night, they ſhould be appointed to repair with their arms to our lodgings at Vevay, to receive ſuch orders as ſhould be neceſſary. The Chatelain approved the propoſition, and deſired, that ſuch an order might be prepared, promiſing he would ſend it to the Bailiff to be ſigned. Which being drawn up, and ſent to the caſtle of Chillion, the Bailiff moſt readily ſigned four orders of the ſame tenor, and directed them to Vevay, Moutre, the Tower, and Bloney, with injunction that they ſhould be publiſhed two ſeveral times in the market-places, ket-places, and before the churches of the ſaid places, that none might pretend cauſe of ignorance. This worthy perſon, as he had done us great honour upon all occaſions, ſo at this time finding us to be extraordinarily perſecuted, he reſolved to ſhew us more than ordinary marks of his favour; and therefore when he came to town, accompanied by the Baron de Chatteler and Monſ. l'Hoſpitalier of Villa Nova, he was pleaſed to make us a viſit, and to honour us with his company at dinner; expreſſing his abhorrence of the baſeneſs and treachery of our enemies, and aſſuring us of his friendſhip and ſervices to the utmoſt of his power.

But Mr. Say, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, and the care he ſaw taken by our friends for our preſervation, would by no means be perſuaded to think himſelf ſafe whilſt he continued in theſe quarters, where we were all ſo publicly known; and therefore reſolved to retire to ſome place where he might be incognito; and to that end, accompanied by Col. Biſco, prepared to depart for Germany; earneſtly preſſing me to the ſame reſolution, and profeſſing himſelf to be as much concerned for my ſafety as for his own. I gave him my thanks for his friendſhip; but acquainted him, that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making oppoſition againſt my enemies, than to live in the perpetual fear of being diſcovered. With which being ſatisfied, he took leave, after he had aſſured me, that if we ſhould continue at Vevay till the next ſpring, he would make us a viſit.

The court of England being informed of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Liſle, that King procured one Dr. Colladon, a native of Geneva, then reſiding at London, to write to one of his relations in thoſe parts for a particular information of that action, and to inquire of the ſame perſon if I continued ſtill at Vevay, or had removed to Zurich, as was reported; which particulars being too well known to him, to need any ſuch information, it may be juſtly conjectured, that this meſſage was ſent to no other end, than to feel the pulſe of the Gentleman, that by his anſwer he might know, whether he were a fit perſon to be employed in his honourable deſigns. Upon the reception of this letter, the perſon to whom it was directed, being a man of probity and honour, not only gave advice to our friends of the contents; but proteſted, that if he had a thouſand lives, he would loſe them all, before he would do us the leaſt injury; utterly refuſing to give any information touching the things that were demanded. Monſ. De la Fleſchere alſo was pleaſed to continue his care of our ſafety; adviſing us, that his kinſman Monſ. Du Pre, accompanied by Du Broetti and Du Fargis, had lately given a meeting at Yvian to one of the Duke of Savoy's guard who uſed to come into our parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the ſame place, was alſo ſuſpected to be of their gang. He added, that though he had received a thouſand aſſurances from Du Pre, that he would never make any farther attempt againſt us, yet he would not believe him, much leſs would deſire us to rely upon his word; but rather that we ſhould be conſtantly upon our guard, eſpecially in conſideration of what had lately happened to our countryman at Lauſanna.

This was the laſt meſſage we received from Monſ. De la Fleſchere; who, without any obligation laid upon him on our part, from the motives of humanity and true goodneſs, had been ſo generouſly ſervic̃eable to perſons he never ſaw. For many days had not paſſed, before we were informed, that a difference ariſing between this Gentleman and Du Pre, whoſe ſiſter he had married, a certain Gentlewoman of Tunno, with whom Du Pre was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the diſpute. To which Monſ. De la Fleſchere conſenting, and coming to her houſe for that purpoſe, was there ſhot into the body by Du Pre, and afterwards diſpatched with a ſtilletto. But this not being done without noiſe, divers perſons came about the door to inquire what was doing; to whom the Gentlewoman anſwering, That there had been no other diſturbance in the houſe, than what had been made by ſome children, they preſently departed. Night being come, Du Pre went out; and, after a ſhort ſtay, brought two country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the body, and to lay it at the door of an infamous houſe in the ſame town; threatening to kill them if they diſputed his commands, or ſhould afterwards reveal the ſecret. And that it might be believed, that his brother-in-law had been ſo uſed, for endeavouring to effect ſome bad deſign, Du Pre went after them to the place where they laid the body, and firing a piſtol, left that and a ſword upon the ground by him. This hypocrite ſeemed to be much concerned for his death, and in deep mourning accompanied him to the grave; proteſting to his ſiſter, that he would willingly expend a great ſum of money to find out the murderer. Yet this maſk was ſoon taken off: for the parliament of Chambery in Savoy having been informed of this murder, and deputed ſome of their number to make inquiry into the matter; they, by the depoſitions they received, ſuſpecting Du Pre to have been the author, ſent to ſeize him: but he, having notice of their intentions, had made his eſcape before the officers could reach the houſe where he was.

In England, the Preſbyterians had been long before ejected from all the benefices they poſſeſſed, and rewarded in the current money of thoſe for whoſe ſake they had betrayed their friends; the priſons had been frequently filled with all ſorts of men diſſenting from the church eſtabliſhed by the act of uniformity; the people had been exhauſted by frequent and exceſſive taxes, to ſupply the luxury of the court; great numbers of the officers of the old army had, under falſe or frivolous pretences, been impriſoned or executed; many of the Iriſh rebels had been reſtored to the lands that had been ſettled upon the Engliſh for the reward of their ſervices and blood; plots had been contrived to furniſh the court with a pretence to tranſport thoſe they feared, to remote and barbarous confinements; and the deſign of ſubverting the rights and liberties of the nation was become manifeſt.

In this poſture of affairs, the court of England thought fit to declare war againſt the States-General of the United Provinces; by means of which, ſome of our friends, conceiving great hopes of the reſtitution of the commonwealth, entered into a treaty with divers principal miniſters of that country, for procuring ſome forces to join with our oppreſſed party in England againſt the common enemy. Having received information of this treaty, and being preſſed by a perſon of honour and integrity to declare my concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That though I ſhould be ready to embrace any good occaſion of ſerving the commonwealth, and relieving my country from oppreſſion, and that I had no great reaſon to be a friend to the preſent eſtabliſhment; yet the treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three friends into the hands of their enemies, made me fear the ſame treatment from them, in caſe of an accommodation with England. For if they had purchaſed their former agreement with the price of that blood, I could ſee no reaſon to perſuade me that they would not purchaſe another with ours. I told him, That all men knew they preferred the profits of trade before any other thing in the world; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with ſuch a ſort of men, I left to his judgment to determine; that being convinced in conſcience, that they had contracted the guilt of the blood of our friends upon themſelves, my duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they ſhould make ſatisfaction for that injuſtice. However, I offered, that if they might be brought to diſown that action, as done by the influence of a particular faction, and promiſe, at a more convenient time, to puniſh the immediate authors, I would freely hazard my life in the expedition.

In the mean time, I received a letter from Mr. Say, who was then at Amſterdam; in which, among other things, I found theſe expreſſions.

“ Believe me, Sir, things are ſo well prepa-
“ red here to anſwer the good ends we all de-

" ſire, that nothing ſeems to be wanting but
" hands to ſet the wheels going. Invitations
" and encouragements are not only offered, but
" preſſed upon you; and there is no ground to
" fear their retreat, of which you ſeem to doubt.
" The ruin of the preſent government in Eng-
" land is certainly intended, and I have cauſe
" to believe will be effected; the States being
" unanimouſly for this war, and at laſt brought
" to ſee that their commonwealth cannot long
" ſubſiſt, if monarchy continue in England.
" Of this they will ſoon give the cleareſt evi-
" dence, as well as of their reſolution to aſſiſt
" the commonwealth-intereſt as far as ſhall be
" deſired; in which they ſeem to be no *leſs*
" zealous, than how to defend themſelves. As
" to the uſage our three friends met with in
" this country, I have examined the particu-
" lars, and find the thing to have paſſed in a
" different manner than has been repreſented.
" They are able here to give you, or any per-
" ſon, ſatisfaction, that the matter does not lie
" ſo foul upon them, as is generally conceived;
" and would, if it might be any way conducing
" to the advantage of our affairs, ſet that buſi-
" neſs in its true light. But this is not thought
" adviſable at preſent by many of our friends;
" who think ſuch a courſe may too much alarm
" the court of England, and put them upon
" meaſures of procuring peace at any rate. The
" King of England is never mentioned without
" the utmoſt contempt; and writings every day
" publiſhed to expoſe his perſon and govern-
" ment. You may propoſe what you pleaſe for
" your ſafety, and I dare anſwer it ſhall be grant-
" ed: only I muſt take leave to tell you, that
" the

" the moſt private manner of treating is beſt " approved by our friends. The offers they " make here are very great, and yet no promi" ſes exacted from us for their ſecurity. There" fore I beg of you to think of ſeeing this place, " and quitting the quarters where you are, that " you may be inſtrumental in the ſervice of " your country at this time. I am certainly in" formed, that conſiderable numbers in Eng" land, Scotland, and Ireland, ſenſible of their " preſent ſervitude, will appear for us; and " ſuch meaſures will be taken here for their aſ" ſiſtance, that I have great hopes of ſucceſs. " Nothing ſeems now ſo much wanting, as fix" ed counſels both here and in England; and " no one can be more ſerviceable than yourſelf " in this important matter. I beſeech you there" fore let us have your help, for we cannot be " without it; and I am perſuaded the work will " proſper in our hands. Make all the expedi" tion you can in your journey: for though " this be not the conjuncture of action, yet I " am perſuaded it is high time to be preparing; " and it will be to our ſhame if we neglect it."

About eight days after this, I received another from the ſame perſon; in which, having deſired me to give credit to the contents of his laſt, he added, That the Heer Nieuport had, at a conference, aſſured him, that the intentions of the government of Holland were to relieve the good people in England, and that he ſhould be glad of any overtures to that purpoſe from me, or any other perſons; that there was more in the deſign of this war than was commonly underſtood, and that the deſtruction of the whole Proteſtant party was intended; that ſome of the moſt eminent of that religion in France had ſent meſſengers into Holland to give information of this matter; adviſing, that the States would make the beſt preparations they could for their defence; and aſſuring, that if they ſhould be borne down in this war, the reformed religion would ſoon be extinguiſhed in France; that the Dutch had 30,000 men ready to put on board their fleet, of which number 10,000 were land-ſoldiers, and to be diſpoſed as we ſhould adviſe and direct; that a great ſum of money was prepared for this ſervice, and that the whole fleet ſhould be commanded to favour our enterprize; that if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to tranſport horſe into England, the States would willingly comply in that alſo, having reſolved to endeavour a perfect friendſhip with the good people of England, which, he ſaid, he hoped ſhould never be broken. At the bottom of the letter were theſe words: "I beg of you to lay aſide all "former prejudices; and as you love the cauſe "in which you have engaged, come ſpeedily, "and ſet your heart and hand to this work. I "can certainly aſſure you, that the moſt con-"ſiderable miniſter of this ſtate has lately very "much inquired for you; and having received "ſome account of you, has given us reaſon to "hope, that if you will come to them in this "conjuncture, they will place you at the head "of ſuch a number of men, as ſhould, by the "bleſſing of God, and the concurrence of our "friends in England, be ſufficient to reſtore the "commonwealth. I dare aſſure you, from the "beſt information I can get, that on ſuch an "occaſion there would be a greater appearance "for us, than at the beginning of the late war.

" Let me therefore not hear from you, but ſee
" you."

Though theſe offers were very advantageous, eſpecially to one in my condition, and the honour I received more than I could expect; yet theſe things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The cauſe of my country, which is dearer to me than my life, was that alone which made me earneſtly wiſh, that I could have perſuaded myſelf to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my friends in this enterprize for our common deliverance. But the reaſons before mentioned ſat ſo cloſe upon me, that I was conſtrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my friends with my intentions to perſiſt in my former reſolution, not to enter into a conjunction of counſels and intereſts with the Dutch, till they had given ſatisfaction touching the buſineſs of the three Gentlemen they had ſo inhumanely delivered into the hands of our enemies; together with ſome reaſonable aſſurances, that they would not abandon the concernments of ſuch as ſhould join with them.

In the mean time, a perſon of honour and quality of the Engliſh nation, whom I had never ſeen, being then at Paris, took care to let me know by a third hand, that the King of England, ſuſpecting I would join with the Dutch againſt him, had cauſed the aſſaſſins to double their diligence; and that the perſon who had murdered Mr. Liſle was come to Paris, accompanied with others of the ſame trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to diſpatch me upon the place. St. Du, another of this tribe, endeavoured alſo to engage one Monſ. Torneri, a Gentleman of Savoy, and my friend, in the deſign againſt me; promiſing him a great recompence if it proved ſucceſsful. He dated his letter from Paris, and deſired the anſwer to be directed to one at Lyons. But Monſ. Torneri ſuſpecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being deſirous to penetrate farther into their ſecrets, told him in his anſwer, That money was not to be refuſed; but that I kept myſelf ſo much upon my guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous conſultation. This Gentleman did me the favour to give me a ſight of the letter and anſwer; with aſſurances of his ſervice, and a promiſe to ſend me St. Du's reply as ſoon as it ſhould come to his hands. He informed me alſo, that Du Pre had been degraded, and broken on the wheel *in effigie*, for the murder of Monſ. De la Fleſchere; that his eſtate in Savoy had been confiſcated, and that he was fled for protection to the town of Friburg, and that he was countenanced by the magiſtrates of that place. Theſe things made me reſolve upon withdrawing from my lodgings at Vevay, and lying privately for ſome time, that my enemies might be amuſed, and uncertain how to lay their deſigns: which having done, it produced the effect I deſired. For no ſooner had I withdrawn myſelf from the public view, but it was generally concluded that I was gone for Holland; which I conjecture might put a ſtop to the deſigns againſt me for that time, and rendered my countrymen at Vevay more ſafe and undiſturbed than they had formerly been.

During this retirement, I received letters from my friends in England, with advice that four perſons had been diſpatched by the King for our parts with the accuſtomed inſtructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the villains of whom I was already informed from Paris, or part of thoſe who had been ſent to Augſburg, with orders from the ſame hands to aſſaſſinate Col. Algernon Sidney; and probably, being ten in number, might have effected their deſign, if, having undertaken a journey to Holland upon buſineſs relating to the public, he had not removed from that place before their arrival. After I had continued about ſix weeks privately with my friends at Lauſanna, I returned to my quarters at Vevay; and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a Frenchman, well furniſhed with money and arms, came to one Monſ. Du Fort, a merchant of Vevay, with a letter unſealed from a trader of Geneva, who was little known to him; which contained an account, That the perſon who ſhould bring him that letter, having been proſecuted in France for getting a wench with child, had deſired to be known to ſome perſons in this place, which he had choſen for his retreat. Though ſuch a recommendation had been ſufficient to have cauſed him to be whipped out of the town, yet other things contributed chiefly to his removal. For it had been obſerved, that he had acknowledged he came lately from England, and ſeemed to be well informed of the affairs of that court; that he was no leſs inſtructed of all the circumſtances of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Liſle; that he intruded into all companies, and had endeavoured to lodge in ſeveral houſes that ſtood moſt convenient to diſcover our uſual walks; that he had expreſſed his diſcontent, that no one would entertain him without the permiſſion of the council; and had offered to pay double at certain places for a lodging. To this was added, that, on a market-day, having dreſſed himſelf in the habit of a buffoon, with a baſket on his back, and wooden ſhoes on his feet, he bought many things that were to be ſold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meaneſt of the people, drawing by that means many idle perſons after him. Upon conſideration of theſe things, the Chatelain, by order of the Bailiff, went, attended with his officers, to the inn where he lodged; and, upon examination, finding him unwilling to tell his name, or buſineſs in this place, he acquainted him, That by reaſon of divers attempts that had been made againſt the Engliſh Gentlemen, who had been taken by their Excellencies into protection, it had been reſolved, that no ſtranger ſhould remain at Vevay, without giving a good account of himſelf; which he having not done, had incurred the conſequence, and therefore muſt reſolve to depart within the ſpace of twenty four hours. He was much diſturbed whilſt the Chatelain was preſent; but having recovered his ſpirits, by drinking brandy after his departure, he hired a boat for Villa Nova, pretending to go directly for Milan: but we were informed afterwards, that from Villa Nova he turned ſhort to Savoy, and by the way of Lyons went to Paris.

Some public buſineſs requiring the preſence of Mr. Treaſurer Steiger at Vevay, he came accompanied by Monſ. Lentulus, late Bailiff of Lauſanna, Commiſſary-General Godart, and another perſon of the ſenate of Bern; and having diſpatched his affairs, did us the honour to make us a viſit; in which, having expreſſed great kindneſs and friendſhip, he informed us, that Du Pre had procured the magiſtrates of Friburg to give inſtructions to Col. Pharamond, and their other Deputies then at Bern, to ſolicit their Lordſhips for the reſtitution of his lands; but that the council was ſo far from doing as he deſired, that they forthwith cauſed the Advoyer to iſſue out an order to ſeize his perſon, if he ſhould come within the territories of their juriſdiction; and to ſend new inſtructions to the Bailiff of Morges for receiving his rents, and employing them in public uſes; directing the ſaid Treaſurer Steiger to give the Deputies an account of their proceedings: which when he had done, and acquainted them with the attempt Du Pre had made to aſſaſſinate us, together with the murder he had committed upon the perſon of his brother-in-law, and many other villanies of which he had been guilty; the Colonel ſaid, that he had not heard any thing of theſe matters before; and deſiring to be excuſed, promiſed never to open his mouth more in his behalf. The next day we returned the viſit we had received from the Treaſurer and his company, and were moſt affectionately received; all of them expreſſing themſelves with the utmoſt friendſhip, and aſſuring us of the care and favour of the government.

Of this we had in a ſhort time the moſt evident demonſtration. For their Excellencies of Bern having received information, that Du Pre deſigned to take a journey to a place in Burgundy called *Joigny*, they ſent out two parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their Lordſhips name to ſurrender himſelf, he at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but, finding that way too hazardous, he clapped ſpurs to his horſe; and when he was at ſome diſtance from the guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad ditch, he fell with his horſe into the middle of it. Some people who were carrying in the harveſt, ſeeing him in diſtreſs, and not knowing that he was purſued by public authority, haſtened to his relief. But he being conſcious of his own crimes, and therefore ſuſpecting all men to be his enemies, fired one of his piſtols upon them; which provoked the countrymen to entertain him with ſtones, till the officers came up, and ſeized him. They found a caſe of piſtols at his ſaddle, another pair at his girdle, and a carabine hanging by his ſide. In his pocket was a letter directed to him without any name ſubſcribed, containing in ſubſtance, That he ſhould inform himſelf where the great whale or the little old fiſh might be found; and give notice if any public honours had been done to the memory of the Engliſh Gentleman who was killed at Lauſanna. The reſt of his papers and letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken; but upon putting them together in the beſt manner that was poſſible, it appeared, that moſt of them had relation to the ſame ſubject, and were full of malicious expreſſions againſt the government of Bern. He was carried to the houſe of one Monſ. De la Berchere, a Gentleman living near the place where he was ſeized; and being kept there all night, he was the next day brought priſoner to Yverden, and committed to the caſtle.

Their Excellencies having received information of the ſeizing and impriſonment of Du Pre, diſpatched orders to their officers at Vevay, to examine all perſons upon oath who might know any thing concerning the attempt made againſt us, in which he had been a principal actor; and to tranſmit to them the examination and confeſſion of the waterman which had been taken by the Bailiff at the caſtle of Chillion. Whilſt the evidence was preparing againſt him, great intereſt was made to their Lordſhips of Bern for their favour to the priſoner. But meeting with cold reception from them, they applied themſelves to thoſe of Yverden, who were to give the firſt judgment in the caſe. His mother being admitted to ſpeak with him in preſence of the guard, told him, that certain fathers Capuchins would remember him in their prayers. But he had another game to play; and having already promiſed to quit the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and to educate his ſon in the reformed religion, if by that means he might ſave his life, anſwered, That he owned no ſuch perſons to be his fathers; that he needed not their prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themſelves. By theſe and other artifices that were uſed by himſelf and his friends, the officers of juſtice at Yverden were perſuaded to ſentence him only to be baniſhed, and to pay the fine of 100 l. But four of the twelve who were his judges diſſented from the reſt; and not only voted him worthy of death, but ſigned a paper to that purpoſe, and preſented it in their own perſons to their Excellencies, that they might acquit themſelves from the blame of this proceeding. When the judgment was preſented to the Lords of Bern for their approbation, they eſteemed it to intrench upon their ſovereignty; in that an inferior juriſdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the puniſhment, but alſo to aſcertain the fine. His mother, and divers other perſons who had accompanied the ſentence to Bern, moſt earneſtly ſolicited to get it confirmed. But becauſe Mr. Treaſurer Steiger was to go to Friburg the next day about ſome public affairs, the conſideration of this buſineſs was deferred for ſeven or eight days. At which time the Treaſurer being returned, the cauſe was heard before their Excellencies; and, after mature deliberation, Du Pre was condemned to loſe his head on the next enſuing Monday. The principal crimes objected againſt him were, That he had ſtoln and raviſhed the perſon he had ſince married, who was born, and reſided within the juriſdiction of Bern; and that he had made an attempt to aſſaſſinate one or more of the Engliſh Gentlemen that were protected by their Excellencies. He denied, that he had taken his wife away in a violent manner, or that he deſigned to take away the life of any other Engliſhman except me. He ſaid alſo, That having reſolved to uſe him thus, they might have acquainted him ſooner with their intentions, and not have encouraged him to ſuch a miſ-ſpending of his time as they had done. And indeed, though this could not juſtly be objected to their Excellencies, who deſigned no more than that he might be civilly entertained till the time of his trial, yet divers of the magiſtrates of Yverden can by no means be excuſed, who drank, and plaid at cards, with him in the priſon. The day appointed for his execution being come, he was brought down: but the terrors of death, with the diſmal reflexions upon his paſt life, ſeized upon him to ſuch a degree, that he fell into a rage, throwing himſelf on the ground, biting and kicking thoſe that ſtood near, and aſking if there were no hopes of pardon. He was told, that he ought to remember, that if he had been taken in his own country, where he had murdered his brother-in-law, and had been broken *in effigie* on the wheel, he ſhould not have been uſed ſo gently. He refuſed to go to the place of execution any otherwiſe than by force: ſo that about two hours were ſpent before he arrived at the place where he was to die, though it was within muſket-ſhot of the priſon. Here the executioner put a cap on his head, and placed a chair that he might ſit; but he took off the cap, and threw it away, and kicked down the chair among the people. When the executioner ſaw this, he tied his hands between his knees; and having aſſured him, that if he perſiſted in his reſiſtance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an hour's conteſt, he at laſt performed his office.

Soon after this, Mr. Treaſurer Steiger accompanied by our Bailiff, and ſome Gentlemen of Bern, was pleaſed to make us a public viſit; leaving the officers that attended him, who were fifteen or ſixteen in number, at our gate, to the end, as he informed us, that the people, obſerving the conſideration and favour we received, might be quickened in their duty upon any occaſion that might happen. He gave us an account of the proceedings againſt Du Pre; and informed us, that when the watermen of Morges had carried his mother back to Tunno, and thoſe of that place had taken the liberty to cenſure the juſtice of Bern; Madam de la Fleſchere, the widow of our good friend, and ſiſter to Du Pre, coming to meet her mother at the water-ſide, had preſently ſilenced them, and openly ſaid, that though he was her brother, yet ſhe acknowledged their Excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was moſt juſt. In this converſation he informed us alſo, that being in Italy in the year 1643, when the war between the late King and the parliament was, as he expreſſed it, moſt inflamed, he had there ſeen a bull from the Pope, for encouraging all good Catholics to take arms for the King againſt the parliament; promiſing, that thoſe who ſhould loſe their lives on his ſide in that quarrel, ſhould go forthwith to heaven. Which is ſo plain, that it needs no comment.

By this time my friends in Holland began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that people; but being unwilling to take the ſhame of their credulity upon themſelves, they reſolved to lay the blame upon me; alledging, that thoſe of the States who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to Holland, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, had concluded we were not agreed among ourſelves, and on that account would not proceed to finiſh the treaty. Whereas indeed the true reaſon was, that they were ſtill in hopes of patching up a peace with England; or if that ſhould fail, they promiſed themſelves the aſſiſtance of France, whoſe intereſt ſeemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the King of France being ſolicited by the Dutch to make good the laſt treaty with that ſtate, and finding he could not procure a peace for them, withdrew his Ambaſſador from London, and declared war againſt England. Soon after which a declaration of war was alſo publiſhed in London againſt the French King, and entertained by the people with great joy, the Mayor and Aldermen attending on the proclamation in their habits of ceremony.

On occaſion of this war, one Monſ. Stuppa, a native of the Griſons, formerly a miniſter, and at that time an officer in the French ſervice, was ſent into his own country to raiſe men; and having performed his commiſſion, reſolved to paſs by Vevay in his return to Paris. Being come to this place, he procured ſome of my friends to deſire me to give him a meeting; to which I conſented. After ſome general diſcourſe upon the preſent conjuncture, he acquainted me, that though he had no expreſs orders either from France or Holland to make any propoſition to me; yet he acknowledged, that the Dutch Ambaſſador, then reſiding at Paris, had ſo far opened himſelf, as to tell him, that his maſters deſigning nothing more in this war than to ſecure themſelves from ſuch double dealing as they had met with from the Engliſh court; and their quarrel not being againſt the people, but only againſt the King of England, he hoped I might be brought to act in conjunction with them for the good of my own country. Then he proceeded to aſk what grounds there might be to hope that the commonwealth-party, with a moderate number of forces to join with them, would be able to carry their point; profeſſing himſelf to be as well in judgment as intereſt diſpoſed to wiſh them well. And on this head we went over many particulars, though I durſt not be ſo free with him as was requiſite to a full clearing of ſuch matters. Some days after this, we had another conference; in which, by the perſuaſion of a particular friend, I acquainted him, that if any juſt and honourable way ſhould be propoſed for the reſtitution of the republic in England, I would readily uſe the beſt of my endeavours, and hazard my life in that ſervice. He ſeemed well ſatisfied with this anſwer; and having aſſured me that a great ſum of money would be advanced to give life to the intereſt of our friends, and to aſſiſt them in their preparations for action, we agreed on a way of correſpondence, and ſo parted.

The next morning, one Mr. Conſtance came to me from the Count of Donnagh, with a meſſage to deſire me to meet him privately at Lauſanna; which I promiſed to do the more willingly, becauſe the ſaid Count had lately given proof of his kindneſs to us, by ſending me advice, that his Lady's father paſſing through Chatillion, (the principal place of our enemies rendezvous), had been certainly informed, that thoſe who had murdered Mr. Liſle, were come again into thoſe parts with intentions to aſſaſſinate us, and more particularly me; aſſuring, that I might give credit to the thing, becauſe it had been imparted to his father-in-law, on ſuppoſition that he approved the deſign. The Gentleman informed me alſo, that the Count had a commiſſion from the States of Holland to raiſe 3000 men in thoſe parts; that the Heer John de Witte had adviſed him to ſee me, and that he hoped the levies he was to make, might be employed for the reſtitution of the commonwealth in England.

land. To which I anſwered, as I had done before to Monſ. Stuppa, That I was always ready to lay down my life in ſo good a cauſe.

Few days after this, I received a letter from Holland to inform me, That our friends were entering into new meaſures; and that the Heer John de Witte, together with the Heer Nieuport, and others who ſeemed moſt affectionate to us, had adviſed, that, for ſeveral reaſons, the treaty between Holland and our friends might be carried on at Paris; that Col. Algernon Sidney and I would repair to France for that purpoſe, where we ſhould be lodged at the houſe of the Dutch Ambaſſador; promiſing, that we ſhould have paſſports in the beſt form, requiring all magiſtrates and other officers in that kingdom to be ſerviceable and aſſiſting to us. In the ſame packet I had another from England to inform me, that the condition of our friends there was not contemptible; and that they thought no hazards too great to be ventured, in order to deliver themſelves from the evils they ſuffered, and greater which they had juſt cauſe to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aſide all ſcruples and former prejudices, and to improve the preſent favourable conjuncture to the advantage of the commonwealth. Theſe letters were accompanied with three more; one from Col. Algernon Sidney, inviting me to give him a meeting at Baſle, in order to continue our journey from thence to Paris. The other two were written by Mr. Say and Col. Biſco, to preſs me to engage in this undertaking; promiſing, that if I would reſolve to go, all the exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, that if I refuſed, they believed no man would ſtir. I found by theſe letters, that there had been ſome heats and jealouſies between Col. Sidney and Mr. Say; the former charging Mr. Say with having privately diſſuaded me from engaging in this enterprize, and Mr. Say accuſing Col. Sidney of uſing all the means he could to diſcourage me. But, to do them juſtice, I muſt needs ſay, that they both endeavoured to the utmoſt of their power to engage me in this affair.

Theſe things brought me into great doubts and difficulties. For, on the one hand, if I ſhould neglect the preſent offers, and the deſign ſhould miſcarry, I foreſaw that my friends, who had ſolicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the fault to me, by whatever means the ill ſucceſs ſhould happen. On the other ſide, if I ſhould reſolve to enter upon ſuch a treaty, beſides my own want of ability for the management of ſo great an affair, the unſuitableneſs of my principles and circumſtances, together with the averſion I had to treat in France, and perhaps with that King's miniſters, who had all along favoured thoſe bloody deſigns which had been contrived againſt my life, I could not ſee how I might come to any reſolution what to offer, demand, promiſe, or perform. Being under this perplexity, I was attacked again on the ſame account by two of our friends, who made a journey from Holland on purpoſe to perſuade me to take part in this affair. So that, finding myſelf thus preſſed on all hands, I told them, that the Lord Jermyn being lately arrived at Paris, with orders from the court of England, to treat of an accommodation with the King of France, in which he would not fail to be powerfully aſſiſted by the Queen-mother of *England*;

this treaty might take effect, as that of the Biſhop of Munſter with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, that, though we ſhould not be betrayed by the French, which I doubted, yet the Lords of Bern would no longer think themſelves obliged to protect us, as they had hitherto done; that if the levies of Swiſs ſoldiers, which the States were about to make, ſhould be deſigned for England, as we had been informed, I thought my preſent ſtay in thoſe parts might be of more uſe to the public, than if I ſhould take the journey that was propoſed; and that for many reaſons I was very unwilling to put myſelf into the hands of the King of France. Yet, that they might ſee I would go as great a length in this buſineſs as I could, I offered, that if the States ſhould think fit to publiſh a declaration to acknowledge the error of delivering up our three friends; promiſe to uſe their endeavours to reſtore the commonwealth to the exerciſe of their authority; furniſh ſuch a number of troops of the reformed religion as might be probably ſufficient to protect our friends in coming in to them, and oblige themſelves not to leave us in a worſe condition than we were at that time, I would heartily engage in the enterprize. With this anſwer my two friends returned to Holland; and being on their way, ſent me word, that the perſon who reſided for the King of France at Mentz, and is brother to his Ambaſſador at Ratiſbon, had been at Francfort on purpoſe to meet Col. Sidney and me, ſuppoſing we had both been at that place; where, in a conference with the Colonel, he had communicated to him a letter from Monſ. De Lyonne Secretary of State, written in cypher by the,

the order of the King of France; in which he was commanded to acquaint us, that if we would go to to Paris, we ſhould have all the ſecurity the government could give, or we could deſire, for the ſafety of our perſons.

The court of England having received ſome obſcure informations of a deſign carried on by the Dutch to land ſome forces to aſſiſt their enemies at home, publiſhed a proclamation, to require Col. John Deſbrowe, Col. Thomas Kelſey, Col. John White, Maj. John Grove, Sir Robert Honeywood junior, Capt. John Nicholas of Monmouth, and divers other perſons, to return into England, and to ſurrender themſelves into the hands of ſome Juſtice of the Peace in the county where they ſhould land, before the 23d day of the next enſuing July, on pain of being proceeded againſt as traitors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jeſuit to procure the Penſioner John de Witte to be murdered; who not only undertook that employment, but promiſed to get me to be aſſaſſinated alſo. Mynheer Nieuport, who had formerly been Ambaſſador for the States in England, ſent his ſon to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this matter; aſſuring him, that the Jeſuit was already come to Holland, and that they hoped to ſeize him: but leſt other perſons might be engaged with him in the deſign againſt me, of whom they had no information, he deſired, that I might be forthwith adviſed of what they had diſcovered; which Mr. Say punctually performed.

Our friends began now to perceive the effects of Jermyn's negotiation, and that the French King would rather chuſe to procure to himſelf the management of the court of England at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for men in diſtreſs, or to give his allies common ſatisfaction in the ſmalleſt things that might diſguſt his brother of England in this conjuncture. For the Dutch Ambaſſador having demanded that Te Deum might be ſung in the great church at Paris for the late victory they had obtained againſt the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk and Prince Rupert, he refuſed to permit it, for three reaſons: Firſt, On account that they differed in religion; in the ſecond place, That having had no forces in the engagement, he could have no ſhare in the victory; and, thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their enemies. Our friends had been made to believe, that they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of France in a great ſum of money; but few of them approved of their ſending forces, as was laſt propoſed, ſuſpecting their fidelity in caſe of ſucceſs. And I think the event ſhewed, that this laſt propoſition was made by the French (who had been lately intriguing with the court of England) in confidence that it would not be accepted.

But however affairs might ſtand in France, yet our friends in Holland had not loſt all hopes; as may appear by the following letter which I received from thence.

" *SIR*,

" WE cannot look upon the frequent and " earneſt applications of ſo many of " our friends for your coming into theſe parts " to be loſt. We are fully ſatisfied of our in" tereſt with you; and have heard with joy the

“ report of thoſe Gentlemen who were lately a
“ Vevay, how much you are concerned for th
“ public cauſe. We cannot but be ſenſible o
“ the difference between treating with a mo-
“ narch, and engaging with a free ſtate, and
“ are glad to find that the ſame principles which
“ arm you againſt the one, cauſe you to inclin
“ to the other upon reaſonable terms; whic
“ we doubt not would be offered, if you would
“ appear among us. They have here received
“ ſuch an account of the condition of our friends
“ in England, that they are inclined to give us
“ conſiderable ſuccours of all things neceſſary
“ for our enterprize. This is the ſecond time
“ that the States have cauſed a great body of
“ land-forces to be ſhipped on board their fleet
“ purely on our account; proteſting in the moſt
“ ſolemn manner, that they have no other de-
“ ſign than to give the good people of England
“ a ſeaſonable and effectual aid. If we loſe this
“ opportunity, we may probably repent our
“ folly, but ſhall hardly redeem our credit.
“ For theſe reaſons we renew our moſt affectio-
“ nate deſires that you would haſten to us, and
“ hope for your ſpeedy anſwer rather in perſon
“ than by writing, leſt this alſo be added to all
“ our former afflictions, that another opportu-
“ nity be loſt.”

This letter being ſubſcribed by many perſons, was ſent to me by the way of Germany, and a duplicate being diſpatched at the ſame time through France, I received both. From all which, conſidering that ſo much weight was laid upon my preſence in Holland, though I could ſee little reaſon for their opinion, I reſol-

ved

o inſiſt no longer upon any thing to be done the States previous to my engagement; but only that they would diſclaim that action which had paſſed in relation to our three friends, and promiſe to make proviſion, in any treaty they ſhould make with our enemies, for all thoſe who ſhould engage with them, or at leaſt to leave hem in as good a condition as they were at the me of their engagement. If this could be effected, I determined to make uſe of the following paſſport, which I had received from the Count D'Eſtrades, Ambaſſador for the King of France to the States-General of the United Provinces.

Le Comte D'Eſtrades, Lieutenant-Général en Chef dans les armées du Roy, Gouverneur de Donquerque, Maire Perpétuel de Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy de l'Amérique, Chevalier des ordres de ſa Majeſté, & ſon Ambaſſadeur Extraordinaire en Hollande.

Nous requérons tous Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieutenants, Maires, Eſchevins, Juges, & autres officiers tant de mer que de terre, à qui il appartiendra, de laiſſer ſeurement & librement paſſer, chacun par les lieux de ſes pouvoirs & juriſdictions, le Sieur Edmond Ludlow & quatre valets, ſans aucun trouble ou empêchement; mais plutôt avec toute faveur, aide & aſſiſtance, & ils nous feront un ſingulier plaiſir. Fait à la Haye, le 2 jour de Mars 1666.

His ſeal of arms
was here affixed.

D'ESTRADES.

The ſame in Engliſh.

" *The Count D'Eſtrades, Lieutenant-Ge*
" *Chief of the King's armies, Gov*
" *Dunkirk, Perpetual Mayor of Bo*
" *Vice-Roy of America, Knight of h*
" *ſty's orders, and his Extraordinar*
" *ſador in Holland.*

" WE require all Governors, Co
" ers, Captains, Lieutenants,
" Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers t
" it may belong, as well by ſea as by l
" permit ————, with four ſerv
" paſs freely and ſafely through the places of
" their reſpective powers and juriſdictions, with-
" out any trouble or impediment; but rather
" with all manner of favour, aid and aſſiſtance;
" and ſo they will do us a ſingular pleaſure.
" Given at the Hague, the 2d of March 1666.
" D'ESTRADES."

Some time after this, an engagement happening between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets; though both parties made bonfires for the victory, yet the court of England, conceiving the advantage to have been on their ſide, reſolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the Prince of Orange. To this end, the Earl of Arlington, who was then Secretary of State, wrote a letter to one Buat, a Frenchman, with whom he had correſpondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the Prince, acquainted him, that he judged this to be the time of promoting that intereſt. Buat, who, though he had a military command in Holland, yet pretended to ſerve that ſtate with intelligence from foreign parts; having, on that account, ſome paper to preſent to the Penſionary John de Witte, put the Lord Arlington's letter by miſtake into his hands. Upon this Buat was ſeized with his papers: which, as was ſaid, gave them ſo much light, that Trump, with his brother-in-law, the Sieur Kuivoit of Roterdam, were removed from their employments, and forbidden to appear in any public council; the latter, with one Vanderhulſt of the ſame place, departing the country. Many others were ſeized; and orders being given to proſecute Buat for treaſon, he was found guilty, and condemned to loſe his head. Trump was confined to his houſe, and the Baron de Ghent was appointed to ſucceed him in his command by ſea.

About the middle of September 1666, the Count of Donnagh ſent me advice by M. Conſtance, that, having been at Chatillion, the uſual place of our enemies rendezvous, he had obliged the maſter of the inn where they met, to promiſe, That if he ſhould diſcover any perſons to have a deſign againſt us for the future, or if thoſe who formerly frequented his houſe on that account ſhould at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This meſſage was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe, within few days, our good friend Monſ. Torneri, upon whom alone, ſince the death of Monſ. De la Fleſchere, we depended for intelligence from Savoy, was murdered by Du Fargis, one of thoſe who with Du Pre attempted to aſſaſſinate us in the year 1664. It was ſaid, that Monſ. Torneri had ſpoken ſome words concerning Du Fargis, which containing too much truth, and therefore moſt offending; Du Fargis, having waited ſome time for an occaſion of revenge, at laſt ſhot him in the head, as he was on horſeback taking leave of his ſiſter at her houſe in Yvian; of which wound he died the ſame day.

The court of England, having procured from the parliament a grant of about 1,800,000 l. under colour of carrying on the war againſt Holland and France, began, immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, to diſcover their intentions to make peace with their neighbours. Preſents and offices of civility paſſed frequently between Paris and London; and the King of France ſent orders to all his ports, that if any Engliſh ſhips ſhould be forced into them by ſtreſs of weather, or otherwiſe, they ſhould be received, and aſſiſted with all things neceſſary. The King of England acquainted the Ambaſſador of Sweden, that, as mediator, he might intimate to the States, that, upon an invitation from them, they ſhould not find him averſe from peace; and that he was contented the Hague ſhould be the place of treating. But the Penſionary John de Witte, who well knew what opportunities of ſowing diviſions among them the Hague would afford, calling to mind, that the King had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at London; and therefore ſuſpecting, that, by this ſeeming condeſcenſion, he might propoſe to himſelf to do that by little arts, which he could not compaſs by open force, procured the States to excuſe themſelves from treating at the Hague, under colour, that, being an open town, they could not ſo well protect ſuch miniſters as ſhould be ſent to treat from the inſults of the people, as they had formerly experienced to their great regret; and to offer Utrecht, Breda, or Maeſtricht, for the place of treating, at the choice of the King of England. When the Swediſh Ambaſſador had communicated this anſwer to the King, he fell into a great paſſion, not ſo much on account of their refuſal, but becauſe he ſaw his deſigns diſcovered. However, being reſolved not to ſet out the fleet, and therefore conſtrained to be calm, he ſwallowed the bitter draught, and made choice of Breda for this purpoſe. He nominated Mr. Denzil Hollis, who, for his merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called Lord Hollis, together with one Mr. Coventry, to be his commiſſioners for treating the peace; putting on an appearance of careſſing the Dutch, calling them his allies, offering that each party ſhould keep what they poſſeſſed; and that the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662 ſhould be the foundation of this. The ſeamen wanting employment, entered themſelves for the moſt part into the ſervice of the merchants, and ſome of them into that of the States; by which means it became impoſſible to man out a fleet upon any occaſion, however preſſing.

The Dutch, being well informed of what paſſed in England, and thinking this opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for war as they had ever done. De Ruyter was appointed to command the fleet, and 4000 landmen were put on board under the conduct of one Col. Doleman, an experienced officer; and who, for not rendering himſelf within the time limited by the late proclamation, had incurred the penalty of treaſon by virtue of a late act paſſed at Weſtminſter, and on that account believed to be more firm to their intereſt. In this conjuncture, my friends and countrymen in Holland attacked me again with letters; aſſuring me, that nothing could hinder the ſpeedy diſpatch of this fleet, but the expectation of my arrival; that the States had reſolved to land a conſiderable force in a certain place in England by their advice, and that our friends in England ſhould have timely notice of their intentions; that Col. Doleman was to command thoſe troops as General, unleſs I ſhould arrive before the ſailing of the fleet; and in ſuch caſe it was ordered, that he ſhould have the next poſt under me. But having received no ſatisfaction touching thoſe things upon which I had formerly inſiſted, being of opinion that it lay within the power of the court of England to make peace with the Dutch when they pleaſed, and conceiving that the great preparations made by the Dutch, and the correſpondences kept on foot with our friends, were only in order to conſtrain the King to a compliance with them; I returned for my anſwer, That I thought Col. Doleman, who was in the actual ſervice of the States, and an able officer, to be much fitter for that employment than myſelf. But if, contrary to my ſenſe of things, the States and our friends ſhould judge otherwiſe, I told them again, that if I might have ſatisfaction in the two points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my beſt aſſiſtance to the ſervice of the public, though in the loweſt degree of employment; and that if I might be aſſured that a journey to Holland at this time would not tend to deprive me of the protection I now enjoyed, I would not fail, for their ſatisfaction, to undertake it without delay, that we might debate theſe things together upon the place. It ſoon appeared, that I had good ground for this caution: for upon the arming of the Biſhop of Munſter, contrary to the late agreement he had made, and the reſtitution of Rhynberg demanded by the Elector of Cologne, together with ſome other accidents, the Dutch ſhewed themſelves ready to treat with England, upon the foot of the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662; with little alteration in the articles touching the King's enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late King's judges.

The Engliſh Plenipotentiaries, notwithſtanding the ill condition of affairs at home, ſpent a whole month at Breda, without entering into conference with thoſe of Holland: which, with the quarrels that happened between theſe two miniſters, gave the States a farther occaſion to improve the preſent conjuncture to the beſt advantage; many of them declaring openly, that they would protect the moſt obnoxious of the King's enemies. In this reſolution they ſent their fleet to ſea, and made directly for the river of Thames, with their land-forces on board. The court of England having made no preparations for the defence of the nation, was alarmed to the laſt degree with the news of their approach. And at the firſt meeting of the council, a propoſition was made, to aſſemble the parliament with all poſſible expedition, though they had been adjourned to the 10th of October, that, by their advice, either a peace might be made to the ſatisfaction of the nation, or the war carried on to the beſt advantage. On the other ſide, the Chancellor Hyde, knowing himſelf to be in danger from the parliament, did all that he could to oppoſe that motion; and conceiving an army more uſeful to promote the arbitrary deſigns of the court, took this occaſion to propoſe the raiſing of 12,000 men. And though the major part of the council carried it for aſſembling the parliament on the 25th of the next enſuing July, and that a proclamation ſhould be forthwith publiſhed to that end; yet the deſign of raiſing an army was not laid aſide.

The Dutch Admiral, finding no enemies at ſea, reſolved to attack the Engliſh in their own harbours; and to that end made all ſail for the river. The firſt Engliſh ſhips he ſaw, were eight or nine outward bound merchant-men, with their convoy; which, upon diſcovery of the Holland fleet, having tacked about, he chaſed them up to the Hope; but being ſuddenly becalmed, he was obliged to come to an anchor. Here he met with a ſtorm, which ending in a favourable north-eaſt wind, he ſtood towards the iſle of Shepway; and, being arrived there, he landed about 800 men, ſeized the iſland, and took the fort of Sheerneſs; a ſhip of war that lay for the guard of that fort being taken by ſome of their great ſhips at the ſame time. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of this fort, eighteen of their leſſer veſſels, with ſome fireſhips, under the conduct of Vice-Adm. Van Ghent, ſailed the next day into the river of Chatham; and, notwithſtanding the ſhips that had been ſunk to hinder their paſſage, came up to an iron chain that traverſed the river, and had been made on this occaſion, fought the Matthias, and

Charles V. which were ordered to defend it, killed moſt of their men, burnt the ſhips, and broke the chain. Then paſſing by Upner caſtle, they burnt the Mary, took the Unity and the Royal Charles, and placed their colours upon the latter in view of her maſter, who ſtood on the ſhore obſerving the effects of his prudent and vigilant government. On the third day they burnt the Royal Oak, the Royal James, and the Loyal London, with divers other ſmaller veſſels. In this deplorable ſtate of affairs, Monk being deſirous to ſave the remaining ſhips, he cauſed them to be ſunk in the river; and ordered five fireſhips to fall in among the Dutch fleet, but without the ſucceſs he expected. In the mean time, the trained bands from all the adjacent parts were marching towards Chatham, to endeavour to prevent farther miſchief by land; nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; and platforms furniſhed with artillery, and works to defend them, were raiſed in divers places, to hinder the enemy from coming up to London. But the Dutch, who had another game to play, having exacted a ſum of money from the inhabitants of Shepway, and carried off the guns and ammunition they found at Sheerneſs, fell down with their fleet to the Buoy in the Nore, and Solebay; giving leiſure to all parties to make their reflexions upon this expedition; the court, in the mean time, taking hold of this occaſion to colour the raiſing of land-forces.

Theſe loſſes, and this diſhonour falling upon the Engliſh, were not without effect at Breda. For their Plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very ſlow in their negotiation, now applied themſelves ſo effectually to the work, that in two or three days they made a conſiderable progreſs in the treaty, and agreed to the articles that were thought to contain the greateſt difficulties. One article concerning Denmark retarded the concluſion for ſome days, the Engliſh Ambaſſadors deſiring time to know the King's pleaſure in that matter. But he, being compelled to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity, ordered them to ſign all, expecting to take revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifeſt, that though the Penſionary John de Witte, and the Heer Nieuport, with one or two more, might be ſincere in their dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the States and their officers had deſired our conjunction with them for no other end, than to procure better terms for themſelves from our common enemy; chuſing rather to ſee a tyranny than a commonwealth eſtabliſhed in England, as knowing, by experience, that they could corrupt the former, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt profitable parts of trade. And therefore, having procured from the Engliſh court ſome new advantages for their commerce, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, and their moſt ſolemn proteſtations made to our friends, they agreed to articles touching the King's enemies, which were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe of 1662; promiſing to deliver up thoſe they call regicides into the hands of the King's miniſters, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all perſons who ſhould be declared fugitives or rebels, as I have mentioned already in another place: only, forſooth, thoſe who fly to them for matters of conſcience, ſhall not be judged to be comprehended in that article; as if the King would not be glad to clear his hands of all thoſe who have any conſcience, having preſſed them long ſince to ſhew their peaceable diſpoſition, by retiring into ſome of the American plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their conſciences without interruption. Beſides, if he ſhould deſire to reach any perſons who might withdraw to Holland on this account, it is but charging them with ſome heinous crime, and then they are to be treated as rebels and fugitives. But having purchaſed the former peace with the price of blood, they reſolved to ſtrengthen the ſecond with the ſame cement. So that I think it may be concluded without injuſtice, that the Dutch had no real intention to do any good to thoſe who were oppreſſed in England; and that it was in the power of that court to make peace with them whenever they pleaſed, though with the ruin of thoſe who ſhould engage on their ſide. And I conceive myſelf obliged to bleſs God for the caution I uſed in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the undertaking. If the Dutch had been neceſſitated by ill ſucceſs to accept ſuch terms as they could get from the court of England, I doubt not all the blame would have been thrown upon me; but ſince it pleaſed God to put it into their power to do us all the good imaginable, and our enemies all the hurt, it is paſt diſpute that the defect was altogether in their will.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the parliament met on the 25th of July, according to the late proclamation; and entering immediately ly upon the debate of the army, which they reſolved to break, ſpoke ſo clearly and freely touching that matter, that the court reſolved to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off ſome of thoſe who had appeared with the greateſt warmth by ſuch means as they had in their hands; or if that deſign ſhould not ſucceed, to think upon taking new meaſures. To this end, they were acquainted by the Chancellor Hyde, that it was the King's pleaſure they ſhould adjourn till the 29th of the ſame month. But before this meſſage came to them, they had paſſed a reſolution, That the King ſhould be deſired forthwith to diſband the army he had lately raiſed. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the houſe full of members, their Speaker appeared not, till the King came to the houſe of Peers; where, having ſent for the houſe of Commons, he made a ſhort ſpeech touching the late peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded; who, without any preamble, told them, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure they ſhould be adjourned to the 10th of October next. But for all this, ſome of the council had the courage to oppoſe theſe violent courſes, and to adviſe, that the army might be diſbanded according to the deſire of the houſe of Commons; that the ſeal ſhould be taken from Hyde; and that the parliament ſhould meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the public ſafety in their own way. Purſuant to this advice, Monk was employed to demand the ſeal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occaſion of revenge with joy; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in preſuming to attack the whole Dutch fleet the laſt year, whilſt Prince Rupert, with part of the Engliſh fleet, was ſeparated from him. The Chancellor refuſed to deliver the ſeal to Monk, under pretence, that ſome men had ſuffered for parting with it too eaſily; telling him, that he would bring it to the King in council the next day; being not without hopes, by his intereſt and preſence, to prevail with them to change their reſolution. But his maſter, finding himſelf obliged to give way to the preſent torrent, perſiſted in his demand; and having received the ſeal from his hands, intruſted it to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper.

Among the various reaſons that were given to juſtify the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the reſentment of the people, one was, That he had countermined the King in the deſign he had to be divorced from the Queen, under pretence that ſhe had been pre-engaged to another perſon, that ſhe had made a vow of chaſtity before her marriage, and that ſhe was incapable of having children. The perſon deſigned to fill her place, was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful Lady, who had ſome office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who had procured his daughter to be married to the Duke of York, and was therefore ſuſpected of having made the match with the Infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the ſucceſſion of the collateral line, ſent for the Duke of Richmond; and pretending to be ſorry that a perſon of his worth, and near relation to the King, ſhould receive no marks of his favour, adviſed him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the moſt certain way he could take to advance himſelf. The young man unwarily took in the bait; and credulouſly relying upon what the old volpone had ſaid, made immediate application to the young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her.. The King, being thus diſappointed, and ſoon after informed by what means this match had been brought about, baniſhed the Duke with his new Ducheſs from the court, and kept his reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity.

By letters from Paris I was informed, that the Ducheſs of Orleans, not at all diſcouraged by the unſucceſsfulneſs of the attempts of her inſtruments againſt us, had openly declared, that ſhe would not reſt till the deſign ſhould be effected, if money would bring it about; and, to that end, had employed other perſons than thoſe who had formerly endeavoured to aſſaſſinate us. Few days after, a Swiſs merchant reſiding at Lyons, coming to Vevay upon buſineſs relating to his profeſſion, acquainted me, that having obſerved an Engliſh Gentleman of a reſerved carriage to have taken a lodging in a private houſe at Lyons; and finding upon inquiry that he was no trader, thinking him to be too far advanced in age to travel either for pleaſure, or to acquire experience, and diſliking the company he frequented, he began to ſuſpect him to be one of thoſe who were employed in the deſign againſt us; and being deſirous to know the truth, in order to do us what ſervice he could, he ſoon found means to be introduced into his acquaintance. After two or three days converſation, the Gentleman finding him to be a Swiſs, and of the canton of Friburg, inquired of him, whether Vevay were within that juriſdiction, whether

ther the Engliſh Gentlemen were ſtill there, and in what number, and whether he had any acquaintance or intereſt in the place; and upon anſwer, that he had many friends there, he began to make him great offers if he would enter into an engagement againſt us. He proceeded to tell me, That, in order to draw out what he could of the deſign, he had objected the difficulty of the undertaking, by reaſon thoſe Gentlemen were ſo conſtantly upon their guard, and ſo well beloved by all perſons in the town, that no ſtranger could come thither without being ſtrictly examined and diligently obſerved: beſides, that their Excellencies of Bern, by ſo ſeverely puniſhing one of thoſe who had attempted to aſſaſſinate them, had ſufficiently declared to the world what uſage others might expect, who ſhould engage in ſuch an enterprize. To which the aſſaſſin made anſwer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting againſt us in an open manner, but that the buſineſs might be done from a hedge, or a wall, by perſons diſguiſed: adding, That Riardo and others had fooliſhly ſquandered away the money of the Ducheſs of Orleans; but that now the deſign was ſo well laid, that it could not eaſily miſcarry. This perſon he deſcribed to be of a low ſtature, his hair of a dark brown, beginning to turn gray, of quick apprehenſion, and of an active and ſtrong conſtitution. He informed me alſo, That though ſome perſons in Savoy had undertaken for a conſiderable ſum to raiſe ſuch a party of men as might ſeize us by open force; yet thoſe who had engaged them, failing to ſupply them with money according to agreement, that deſign, and all others of that nature, he believed, were totally laid aſide. He concluded with aſſuring me, that he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful advice of what he ſhould diſcover.

The part in this ſcene on which our enemies laid moſt weight, was to be acted by one Roux, a quick-witted, nimble-tongued, and confident Frenchman, who, upon recommendation from France, was entertained at the houſe of one Col. Balthazar, in the country of Veaux, as others had been who were engaged in the ſame villanous deſign. He gave himſelf out for a conſiderable perſon, and pretended to be commiſſionated from the King of England, to treat about affairs of great importance with the four Proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, and more particularly with their Lordſhips of Bern. Col. Balthazar had lived for ſome time in the Palatinate under mean circumſtances; but putting himſelf into the armies of the King of France, he, in a ſhort time, by plunder and rapine had accumulated great riches. Between theſe two it was concerted, That Col. Weiſs, a Senator of Bern, whom I have had occaſion to mention before, being at Geneva, by order of their Excellencies, for adjuſting ſome matters in difference between that republic and the Duke of Savoy, ſhould, after he had diſpatched his affairs, be invited to the houſe of Col. Balthazar. Which being accordingly done, Roux was introduced into his company; and, after ſome diſcourſe, informed him, That the King of England was deſirous to entertain a more particular correſpondence with the Proteſtant cantons, and eſpecially that of Bern, than he had done for the time paſt, if on their part they would make him the compliment to deſire it by an agent, to be ſent into England on that account, and, preliminary to this treaty, would withdraw their protection from thoſe who had contributed to the death of his father; expreſſing himſelf amazed, that their Excellencies ſhould favour thoſe whom France and the Low Countries had delivered up, and all other nations had abandoned. An account of this buſineſs being ſent to Bern, was imparted by Mr. Treaſurer Steiger, to our true friend Mr. John-Henry Humelius, with advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time Roux made it his buſineſs whereſoever he came, to endeavour by aſperſions to render us odious, and to juſtify thoſe who had killed Mr. Liſle at Lauſanna; affirming they had been moſt liberally rewarded both in England and France, and that the King of England wanted not means to gratify all thoſe who ſhould do him ſervice. Of this I had certain and ſpeedy information by divers perſons, who at ſeveral times had heard theſe and the like diſcourſes from Roux: which I may not let paſs without obſerving, that what he ſaid concerning thoſe who murdered Mr. Liſle, was ſo far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that villany, in extreme want, at a mean lodging in Weſtminſter; and the other, though advanced to be a Captain in France, complained of the ingratitude of thoſe who had employed them; proteſting they had never received any other reward than 300 piſtoles from the Ducheſs of Orleans, of which 200 had been ſpent in laying the deſign, and waiting an occaſion of putting it in execution.

Roux having informed himſelf as well as he could of things in theſe parts, addreſſed himſelf to ſome of the government of Zurich, pretending to be ſent from the King of England with a commiſſion to propoſe, that the four Proteſtant cantons would enter into the alliance lately made by the King of England, the States of Holland, and the crown of Sweden, for ſecuring the peace between the Kings of Spain and France. Which propoſition being communicated to the council, they having been informed concerning the pretended agent, and the condition annexed to his buſineſs, "That their Excellencies of Bern ſhould abandon the Engliſh," refuſed him audience, under pretext that he had not any letters of credence, which he would have perſuaded them he had left at a place in Burgundy called St. Claud. Having met with this cold reception at Zurich, he reſolved to make trial of the government of Bern; and accordingly procured one of their number to acquaint them with his propoſitions. But they uſed him more roughly, and ordered the perſon he had engaged to inform them of his buſineſs, to let him know, That they approved neither of his perſon nor of his propoſitions, and that he might return by the ſame way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the impudence of this fellow. For upon the return of Col. Weiſs from Geneva, (who had left the differences between that State and the Duke of Savoy in a fair way of accommodation), he attacked him again, in hopes by his means to procure ſome intereſt at Bern; proteſting, that the

King of England had a great deſire to enter into a more particular alliance with that canton than any other, provided they would deliver thoſe who had adjudged his Father to death into his hands, or at leaſt withdraw the protection they had granted to them; tempting him with aſſurances, that whoever ſhould carry the news of their concurrence to the King, ſhould receive 50,000 crowns for a gratuity. To which the Colonel made anſwer with more than ordinary indignation, That he could not think of the propoſition without horror; that it was derogatory to the honour of their Excellencies; and that it was not the cuſtom of the Swiſs, to betray thoſe who had put themſelves under their protection. This attempt was ſeconded by a letter pretended to be written from the court of England, by one who would be thought a great friend to the Swiſs intereſt, dated in Auguſt 1668, and addreſſed to one of the Syndics of Geneva, in order to be communicated to the Governors of Bern. Having obtained a ſight of this paper, I found in it the following words.

" You are deſired to give immediate notice to
" the Lords of Bern, That their enemies have
" endeavoured to perſuade his Majeſty, that
" they have neither the reſpect nor affection for
" his perſon that he might juſtly expect from
" them; that they have not only taken the
" murderers of the late King into their prote-
" ction, but have publicly honoured them with
" extraordinary favours. This report I have
" endeavoured to diſcredit, even in the preſence
" of the perſon who killed Mr. Liſle at Lauſan-
" na; aſſuring his Majeſty, that if any ſuch
" perſons were within the territories of Bern,

ly upon the debate of the army, which they reſolved to break, ſpoke ſo clearly and freely touching that matter, that the court reſolved to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off ſome of thoſe who had appeared with the greateſt warmth by ſuch means as they had in their hands; or if that deſign ſhould not ſucceed, to think upon taking new meaſures. To this end, they were acquainted by the Chancellor Hyde, that it was the King's pleaſure they ſhould adjourn till the 29th of the ſame month. But before this meſſage came to them, they had paſſed a reſolution, That the King ſhould be deſired forthwith to diſband the army he had lately raiſed. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the houſe full of members, their Speaker appeared not, till the King came to the houſe of Peers; where, having ſent for the houſe of Commons, he made a ſhort ſpeech touching the late peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded; who, without any preamble, told them, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure they ſhould be adjourned to the 10th of October next. But for all this, ſome of the council had the courage to oppoſe theſe violent courſes, and to adviſe, that the army might be diſbanded according to the deſire of the houſe of Commons; that the ſeal ſhould be taken from Hyde; and that the parliament ſhould meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the public ſafety in their own way. Purſuant to this advice, Monk was employed to demand the ſeal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occaſion of revenge with joy; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in preſuming to at-coming to Vevay about the public affairs, made us another viſit, and did us the honour to dine at our quarters, accompanied by the Bailiff of the town, and other principal perſons of the country. In this converſation he informed us, That when application was made to their Excellencies, that they would appoint ſome perſons to treat with Roux, or at leaſt give him an audience, he had taken the liberty to ſay in the council, That though there were no ground to ſuſpect him of ill deſigns, as there was but too much, and that the King of England ſhould ſend to them, with all the ceremony and forms requiſite, to deſire them to withdraw their protection from us, he could never prevail with himſelf to give his conſent to ſuch a reſolution; becauſe the protection having been granted after ſerious deliberation, and the Engliſh Gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their Excellencies favour, it ought, in his opinion, to be eſteemed ſacred. He told us, That the perſon who had moved the council to take Roux's buſineſs into conſideration, had been publicly reprimanded for his forwardneſs in that matter; and that their Excellencies had refuſed to receive an agent from the King of England to reſide among them; returning for anſwer, That they had no buſineſs with that King for the preſent; but if at any time they ſhould have affairs to treat with him, they would addreſs themſelves by their own miniſters.

Roux having met with the repulſes above mentioned, and receiving information from the Bailiff of Nyon, that Monſ. Gabriel de Dieſbach, at that time Bailiff of the juriſdiction of Vevay, had threatened to treat him according to his merits if he ſhould preſume to come within his power, retired to St. Claud, in the free county of Burgundy; having made great complaints of the uſage he had received at Bern and Zurich; boaſting of his correſpondences with the miniſters of Sweden and Holland, as well as of his preſent employment from the King of England; and ſhewing letters from Don Diego de Caſtel-Rodrigo, Governor of Flanders, to the Governor of the county of Burgundy, deſiring him to furniſh money and whatever might be neceſſary to his undertaking. From hence he went to Geneva, and was there ſeen frequently in the company of a certain ſtranger, who, by the deſcription we received of his perſon, we found to be the ſame that had been for ſome time at Lyons, and of whom I had an account by the Swiſs merchant of Friburg. After a ſhort ſtay at Geneva, he returned to St. Claud; and appearing in better equipage than he had formerly done, he ſent one of his companions to the Bailiff of Nyon, to inform him, That having received freſh inſtructions from the King of England, he had propoſitions to make to their Excellencies of Bern, which would be of great advantage to their republic, particularly in the way of trade; deſiring leave to be admitted to impart the heads of his negotiation to him. The Bailiff, who had been ſufficiently informed touching his perſon and deſigns, ſoon diſmiſſed his meſſenger with this anſwer, That being abundantly ſatisfied his principal errand was to attempt ſomething againſt thoſe Engliſh Gentlemen whom their Excellencies had taken into their protection, and were reſolved to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not ſufficient to oblige him to deſiſt, he ſent his meſſenger a ſecond time to the Bailiff, to propoſe that he would ſurrender himſelf into the hands of the government of Bern for caution, that he intended no miſchief to our perſons; but indeed confeſſed, That being charged by the King of England with propoſitions to thoſe of Bern, tending highly to their advantage, he ſhould not conſult the honour of his maſter, by treating with them, whilſt his moſt dangerous and avowed enemies were openly protected in their territories. Which being in effect the ſame with what he had ſaid before, the Bailiff contented himſelf to return the ſame anſwer; and immediately diſpatched his ſon-in-law to give me notice of what had paſſed, and to adviſe me, though there ſeemed to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that Balthazar would not be thought to correſpond with him, yet that we would be upon our guard againſt the private deſigns of both.

In the mean time Monſ. Mouliere, who was then reſident for the King of France in Switzerland, having received information from ſome perſons (as I think I have reaſon to believe) that wiſhed well to us, That this Roux, though a native of France, had ſolicited the cantons to enter into meaſures prejudicial to that King's intereſt, he preſently diſpatched advice of what he had heard to the court. Upon which orders were given to one Monſ. Martel, who had ſerved under the Marſhal Turenne, to ſurpriſe and ſeize him. Martel having traverſed the country for ſome months, before he could find an opportunity to compaſs his deſign, at laſt fell acquainted with, and eaſily corrupted a prieſt of

St. Claud, who was a great confident of Roux; procuring him to ſend a meſſenger to Balthazar's houſe, where Roux then was, with a letter to invite him to the houſe of another prieſt at Rouſſaire, on the frontier of Burgundy; where he promiſed a great regale ſhould be provided for his entertainment. Roux would by no means diſappoint his friend, the prieſt; and therefore, attended only by one ſervant, and the prieſt's man, he ſet forward in the morning, that he might reach the place of appointment in convenient time. But Martel with his party having placed themſelves in the way by which he was to paſs, as ſoon as he ſaw him approaching, rode up to him, and ſeized him. Roux's ſervant made his eſcape, and left his maſter to ſhift for himſelf. But the prieſt's man, who was ignorant of the deſign, ſuppoſing them to be robbers, made what reſiſtance he could, and received a ſhot in the ſhoulder, of which he died in a few days at Nyon. Roux being thus ſeized, Martel ordered his hands to be tied to the pommel of the ſaddle, and his feet under the horſe's belly, and in this poſture carried him off. As they paſſed by the abbey of Beaumont, which is ſituated within the territories of Bern, he began to call for aid; but a handkerchief being preſently put into his mouth, his voice was not heard. In three days they arrived at Lyons, and ſecured their priſoner in the caſtle of Pierre en Scize; where, after he had remained ſome days, he was tranſported to Paris, and impriſoned in the Baſtile.

For this ſervice the King of France rewarded Monſ. Martel with 1000 piſtoles in money, and a promiſe of the firſt company that ſhould be vacant in his guards. The ſecond perſon in this party received 600 piſtoles, and a promiſe of a foot-company. The reſt had fifty piſtoles a man, and aſſurances of preferment according to their capacity. During the confinement of Roux, Monſ. De Lyonne, Secretary of State, went frequently to him in the priſon; but though it had been reported, that he had contributed much to the making of the league called the *triple alliance*, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any negotiations in which it was ſaid he had been concerned. Only he told him, That he had things of great importance to diſcover, which he reſolved not to communicate to any perſon but the King. In the mean time, deſpairing of life, and dreading the puniſhment of the wheel with which he had been threatened, he gave himſelf a wound in the ſmall guts with a knife he had procured from one of his keepers; hoping by that means, and an obſtinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his fears. On the 21ſt of June, finding himſelf very weak, and as he thought almoſt ready to expire, he ſent to acquaint Monſ. De Lyonne with his condition, and to let him know that he had heſitated too long. Upon this the Secretary went immediately to the King; and having informed him of the meſſage he had received from Roux, the King ſent one of his phyſicians to him; who returning with all poſſible expedition, and repreſenting the danger he was in, a letter was immediately drawn by Monſ. Colbert, ſigned by the King, and directed to the Lieutenant-Criminal, to proceed without delay to his trial. Being brought before his judges, the witneſſes depoſed, That he had ſaid, there were thirty Ravaillac's in France, which the King ſhould find before the next Auguſt; with other things tending to prove that he had engaged in deſigns againſt the King's perſon. But he denied all; and refuſed, as before, to make any diſcovery of the things he knew, unleſs to the King himſelf. He was condemned upon the evidence to be broken alive on the wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the common ſhore, for endeavouring to kill himſelf in the priſon. Which ſentence was ordered to be put in execution at the end of the Pont Neuf; but, by reaſon of his weakneſs, it was performed before the priſon of the Chaſtellette, whither he had been removed from the Baſtile. This Roux, alias Fontcovert and St. Marcelle, was a native of Niſmes in the province of Languedoc, and had been a ſpy for the court in the time of Cardinal Mazarin; for which ſervice he had been rewarded with a patent for licenſing ſtage-coaches and other public carriages in the ſaid province. But the Cardinal upon ſome information having ſuppreſſed that grant, and removed his brother from another employment, he became ſo diſcontented, that he quitted the kingdom, and procured himſelf to be naturalized in Holland. During his impriſonment, Spain, Holland, and Switzerland, demanded him of the King of France; the firſt, becauſe he was employed in their ſervice; the Hollander for the ſame reaſon, and on account of his naturalization; the Swiſs, only to lay claim to their right, he having been ſeized within their juriſdiction. But the court of England was by this time become ſo entirely French, that they ſaid not one word in his behalf.

Our friends at Bern, according to their accuſtomed vigilance, gave us notice, that a certain Engliſhman, going by the name of Thomas Schugar, had applied himſelf to ſome of the magiſtrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the mathematics in that place; pretending to have been converted firſt from Popery to Lutheraniſm, and then from that to Calviniſm; acknowledging, that he had been a prieſt and a ſervant to the Queen-mother of England, and that he had been in arms for the late King to the year 1646; at which time, upon the diſſipation of that party, he had tranſported himſelf beyond the ſeas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They deſcribed him to be of low ſtature, ill looks, ſpeaking ſeven or eight languages; and that he was very inquiſitive after the Engliſh Gentlemen who had put themſelves under their Excellencies protection. This perſon, under pretext that he could find no employment at Bern, came to Vevay, and uſed all means poſſible to become acquainted with ſome of our company; denying to them, that he had ever been either a Papiſt, prieſt, or ſervant to the Queen-mother. But being told that we had too good information from Bern to doubt of that matter, he finding himſelf ſuſpected, and therefore not likely to ſucceed in his deſigns, departed from Vevay the next morning after this diſcourſe. We underſtood afterwards, that, paſſing by Augſburg, he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the houſe of Mr. Oliver St. John's, who had been formerly Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in England; and that having gotten the name of the perſon by whoſe means he received his letters, he had procured his correſpondence to be interrupted:

which cauſed us to ſuſpect, that he had found means to ſerve us in the like manner, our intercourſe with England being for ſome months wholly cut off, till we had taken new meaſures to renew it.

About this time, Henrietta Maria, Queen-mother of England, and aunt to the preſent King of France, having been formerly an active inſtrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody civil war in England, and encouraging the barbarous maſſacre of the Proteſtants in Ireland; and more lately, from a ſpirit of revenge and malice, a principal adviſer of the cruelties acted in England upon the alteration of the government, died at Paris. Her diſtemper at firſt ſeemed not to be dangerous; but upon taking ſomething preſcribed by the phyſicians to procure ſleep, the potion operated in ſuch a manner that ſhe waked no more. She received 60,000 l. yearly from England, and yet left many and great debts unpaid. She was our particular enemy, and had conſtantly favoured the deſigns that had been carried on againſt our lives.

The parliament in England, having been prorogued for about eighteen months, met on the 20th of October; and the houſe of Commons being ſent for to the Lords houſe, after the King had acquainted them with his joy to ſee them again after ſo long abſence, he deſired they would conſider his debts; and exhorted both houſes to union. Which laſt admonition was thought to ariſe from a pamphlet that had been publiſhed by the Lord Hollis, touching the caſe of one Mr. Skinner, a merchant of London, againſt the Eaſt-India company; in which diſcourſe he ſeemed to outdo the higheſt of all thoſe who had ever written for the privileges of the Lords. This was a ſtrange reverſe of the medal; eſpecially to thoſe who knew, that when he was a member of the houſe of Commons, he had ſo far deſpiſed the privileges of the Lords, that, at a conference between the two houſes, in which the Lords ſhewed themſelves unwilling to comply with the Commons, he had openly ſaid, That if they perſiſted to refuſe their concurrence, the Commons would do the thing in diſpute without them. However, one of the members of the houſe of Commons anſwered Hollis's pamphlet with ſuch force and ſharpneſs, that, upon debate, they came to three reſolutions to this effect; That divers things affirmed in his book were falſe and ſcandalous; That from this time the Lords ſhall never originally intermeddle with the cauſe of any Commoner; and, That what the Lords have done in the buſineſs of Mr. Skinner, ſhall be razed out of their books. Theſe votes being carried to the Lords for their approbation, they returned for anſwer, That they would ſhortly ſend them a bill touching this matter.

The King of France, having reſolved to viſit his late acquiſitions in the Low Countries, put himſelf at the head of a great body of troops to that purpoſe. Of which the States of Holland having received information, and that the Ducheſs of Orleans would accompany the King to the ſea-coaſt, and then paſs over to meet her brother at Dover, they began not only to diſlike the perſonal neighbourhood of the King of France, but vehemently to ſuſpect that this interview was deſigned to unite the two Kings againſt them. And that they might not be wanting to themſelves in this conjuncture, they immediately diſpatched an Ambaſſador to compliment the King of France in his progreſs; and ſent the Heer Van Beuningen into England, to endeavour to diſſipate the clouds that threatened from that ſide. The court of France, who were not ignorant of the deſigns carried on by the King of England to ſubvert the laws and liberties of the Engliſh nation, and well underſtood how much the eſtabliſhment of an arbitrary power in the crown would contribute to weaken that force which had been ſo formidable under a free government, had inſtructed the Ducheſs of Orleans, not only to offer money to her brother, in caſe the uſual way of ſupplying his luxury by parliamentary aids ſhould fail; but alſo to give him aſſurances of whatever number of forces he ſhould judge requiſite to render the monarchy abſolute and uncontroulled. To theſe ſhe herſelf had added another argument to be propoſed, no leſs prevalent where it was to be applied than the former. For ſhe had in her train one Mrs. Querouallе, of a family in Low Britany, who, beſides her French education and carriage, was young, and had paſſed in France for a great beauty. With ſuch baits the monarch was eaſily taken; and, for this tinſel ware, was contented to barter the affections and good of the people, together with the quiet of almoſt all Europe. Puffed up with this ſucceſs, the Ducheſs returns to Paris, and found ſuch a reception from the King as ſo great ſervices ſeemed to deſerve. But her huſband, the Duke of Orleans, either upon ſuſpicion of her too great familiarity with her brother, or of ſome other gallantry, to which ſhe was not a little inclined, did not ſhew himſelf ſo well contented with her negotiation. However it was, ſhe being at St. Cloud, a palace belonging to the Duke, few weeks after her return having taken a glaſs of limonade, or other cooling liquor, was ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch violent convulſions, that ſhe died at two of the clock the next morning.

The death of the Ducheſs of Orleans being ſignified to the King her brother, he at firſt ſeemed to be highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of her huſband, and full of ſuſpicion that ſhe had been uſed in a manner not uncommon among princes. But having reſolved that nothing ſhould diſturb the meaſures lately taken between the two courts, he ſoon cooled, and ſent the Duke of Buckingham with the character of his Ambaſſador to the court of France, in appearance to condole with them for the death of the Ducheſs; but indeed to confirm the late agreement made at Dover, and to concert the methods of purſuing their deſign. The Duke was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of eſteem and favour. The forces about Paris were exerciſed in his preſence; balls and comedies were prepared to divert him; the King gave him divers rich preſents, and made a public feaſt on the day of St. Louis, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, things began to proceed vigorouſly. A great ſum of money was ſent into England; the French army was ordered to break up, and to march towards the new conqueſts; draught-horſes were bought, and diſpatched to them with all expedition; and no man doubted any longer either of the league between France and England, or of their intentions to employ their joint forces againſt the commonwealth of Holland. The Dutch Ambaſſador at Paris was ſo alarmed with this news, that he went in great haſte to Monſ. De Lyonne, and deſired to be informed whether the French army were to be employed againſt his maſters. But the Secretary aſſured him there was no ground for any ſuch apprehenſions; and that if thoſe troops were uſed in an expedition, the ſtorm would fall far enough from their territories. And accordingly the Marſhal de Crequi, at the head of about 25,000 men, entered Lorrain, ſeized Nancy, and all the places that lay on his way, and was within half an hour of ſurpriſing the Duke himſelf at Eſpinal. The French King pretended for the reaſon of this ſudden invaſion, that the Duke of Lorrain had, contrary to a late treaty, fortified ſome of his own towns; and had endeavoured, in a clandeſtine manner, to be admitted into the triple alliance; declaring, that he intended not to retain the duchy in his poſſeſſion, but deſigned to put it into the hands of ſome other perſon of the Lorrain family who ſhould be more worthy. In the mean time, the Marſhal de Crequi having driven the Duke out of his territories, publiſhed an order, forbidding his ſubjects to yield him obedience; commanding thoſe who had been in arms for him to quit his ſervice, and *to put* themſelves into that of the King; and requiring all orders of men in that country to do homage, and ſwear allegiance to him, under pain of death and confiſcation of eſtate.

The Duke of Lorrain being in this manner diſpoſſeſſed of his duchy, without any preceding declaration of war on the part of France, filled all Europe with his complaints; and diſpatched a miniſter to the King of England to deſire his good offices with the French King in this conjuncture; which he thought he had no reaſon to doubt, on account of the obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his perſon and troops during the time of his exile. But, inſtead of the favour expected, his miniſter received no other anſwer, than that he was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent violence, like the miſchiefs of a ſudden inundation, muſt be endured at this time.

The Duke of Buckingham, after he had finiſhed the buſineſs of his embaſſy, and received many extraordinary favours and preſents of great value from the King of France, returned to England. Soon after which, in order to find new pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a meſſage was ſent to the Engliſh miniſter reſiding at the Hague, to demand the ſurrender of Cornet Joyce; who having formerly, by command of the army, ſeized the late King at Holmby, where he was treating with the parliament's commiſſioners, had, ſince the late revolution, withdrawn himſelf from the fury of his enemies, and retired with his family to Roterdam. The pretext uſed by the court of England to colour this demand, was, That Joyce, being told that a ſhot had been lately made at the King, anſwered, That though that had miſſed, another might prove more ſucceſsful: to which they added, That they had received information, that he had actually engaged himſelf in a deſign againſt the preſent government in England. By this means they hoped it would come to paſs, either that the States, by refuſing to deliver him according to an article of the late treaty, might juſtly be charged with breaking the peace; or, by ſurrendering his perſon, would totally diſoblige the commonwealth-party, and make them leſs averſe to the intended war. Purſuant to his inſtructions, the miniſter of England makes his demand: and the States, perceiving the ſnare that was laid for them, immediately ſigned an order to the magiſtrates of Roterdam for ſeizing the Cornet, and delivered it into his hands; but ſo contrived the matter, that the officers who were appointed to take him in cuſtody, walked ſo long before his door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his eſcape.

Our ancient and hearty friend Mr. Treaſurer Steiger falling into a paralytical diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died, ſurrendered his employments into the hands of their Excellencies; and one Monſ. Velden was choſen to ſucceed him, who, being well informed of the many favours we had received from his predeceſſor, aſſured us, upon his firſt journey into our parts, that he would do us all the good offices that ſhould be in his power, and would be as careful of our concernments as the late Treaſurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one La Rue of Lyons, who had been engaged with Du Pre in his attempt to aſſaſſinate us, having ſome acquaintance with Monſ. Du Four, a merchant of Geneva, wrote a letter to let him know, that he had heartily repented of that action, and would be more ready to ſerve us for the future than he had been to take part in ſo baſe a deſign. He informed him alſo, that the Iriſhman who had paſſed under the name of Riardo, and was one of the principal inſtruments that were employed againſt us by the Ducheſs of Orleans, had lately been at Lyons, and had told him, that if he had known how many wellwiſhers I had among the beſt of his friends, he would not have entered into any engagement againſt me; that he had quitted the ſervice of the King of England on account of his ingratitude; and that he deſired above all things to have my good opinion, and to keep a conſtant correſpondence with me; that he had been with Mr. Richard Cromwel, where he had met with ſo good reception, that he had reſolved never more to apply himſelf to the court, and that he would ſerve the honeſt party in England with the laſt drop of his blood. All which being communicated to me by Monſ. Du Four, I concluded, that Riardo, if not La Rue alſo, deſigned, according to the beſt of his underſtanding, to act the devil's part, firſt to inſnare, and then to accuſe.

In the mean time Col. Balthazar, who had entertained this Riardo at his houſe whilſt the deſign of our aſſaſſination was forming, and had received Roux alſo with the ſame familiarity, finding himſelf diſappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly publiſhed of our removal from Vevay, reſolved to take new meaſures, and to employ artifices to perſuade their Excellencies to withdraw their protection from us. To this end, he went to Commiſſary-General Godart, who was a member of the council of Bern; and pretending to have received letters from England, informed him, That the Ambaſſador of the Duke of Savoy then in that court, had offered to the commiſſioners appointed to treat with him, That if the King of England would by his intereſt and other means endeavour to procure the reſtitution of ſuch places as were kept from him by the canton of Bern, his maſter would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his hands. The Commiſſary-General coming to Vevay, by order of their Excellencies, to terminate ſome matters in diſpute between the Baron de Chaſteler and his tenants, was pleaſed to give me an account of this buſineſs. And, upon conference, we agreed, that there was no probability of any ſuch offers made, for many reaſons, and particularly, that the Duke had refuſed to countenance the deſign againſt us, when he had been ſolicited by Riardo and others to that purpoſe; concluding it to be a contrivance of Balthazar to perſuade the government, that the favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the public ſafety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into danger, could not without difficulty preſerve himſelf. For the court of France, upon information that Roux, who had been executed at Paris, as I have already related, had left his papers in Balthazar's houſe, ſent a party of between twenty or thirty horſe into the Pais de Gex, who, hovering about that country for ſome time, put him into ſo great a fright, that he burnt the papers. He had at firſt ſlighted the report; but being informed by one Beauregard, his wife's brother, that ſome of them were the ſame who had aſſiſted Monſ. Martel in ſeizing Roux, he made the beſt proviſion he could for his defence.

As the memory of thoſe men whoſe lives have been remarkable for great and generous actions, ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity with the praiſes they have deſerved, that others may be excited to the imitation of their virtues; it is as juſt that the names of thoſe who have rendered themſelves deteſtable by the baſeneſs of their crimes, ſhould be recorded, that men may be deterred from treading in their ſteps, leſt they draw upon themſelves the ſame infamy. For this reaſon I think it neceſſary to inſert in this place the true names of ſome of thoſe aſſaſſins who were employed by the court of England and others to take away our lives, as I received them from an Engliſh Gentleman who was well acquainted with their affairs, and who having paſſed ſome time in Italy, made me a viſit at Vevay in his return to England. He aſſured me, that the villain who murdered Mr. Liſle by ſhooting him into the back, is an Iriſhman, and named O Croli; that the name of his companion, who waited with a freſh horſe to carry him off, is Cotter, and that he is a native of the ſame country; that the aſſaſſin who goes under the name of Riardo, is alſo an Iriſhman, and his true name Maccarty; who having murdered one Col. Dillon, his countryman, at Paris, had been puniſhed with death, if the Queen-mother of England had not interceeded for him, and procured his pardon, for the good ſervices he had already done, and others that he promiſed to do for the time to come. Which favour that he might farther merit, he went into Holland ſoon after he was diſcharged from priſon; where he attempted to aſſaſſinate one Mr. William Carr; who having been a ſervant to the King, had taken liberty to write ſome things that diſpleaſed the court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from England.

The King of France making great preparations for war, obtained a new levy of Switzers from the cantons, and procured 6000 men to be raiſed in England to be employed in his ſervice. And that he might divide the ſtrength of the empire, and render them incapable of aſſiſting the Hollanders, when he ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſent an agent into Hungary to foment the diſcontents of that people, who had been invaded in their privileges, and perſecuted for religion, by the influence of the Emperor's bigotted council. He cauſed his brother the Duke of Orleans to marry the daughter of the Elector Palatine; and on that account made many large promiſes to that prince, which were never performed. He tampered with divers other princes of Germany; and knowing that the Elector of Cologn had a deſign to ſeize and ſubvert the rights and privileges of that city, he tempted him with offers of his aſſiſtance. The court of England on their part recalled Sir William Temple from his employment in Holland, ſuſpecting him not to favour the French intereſt, but rather to be zealouſly inclined to maintain the triple alliance, which they were reſolved to break; and ſent Downing to ſupply his place, who was a much fitter inſtrument to carry on the deſigns they had on foot. And, ſince my ſubject has led me to ſpeak of this Gentleman, I muſt here acknowledge, that though Downing had acted contrary to his faith, former pretences and obligations, in betraying our friends, as I mentioned before; yet none of thoſe who remained in Holland, or afterwards retired thither, were ever moleſted during his miniſtry; which was as much as could reaſonably be expected from a perſon in his poſt. To this was added an attempt, which, for the ſingularity of the thing, deſerves to be remembered. For upon notice that a conſiderable number of Dutch men of war were riding in the channel, the King, to procure by any means ſome pretences for the intended war, gave orders to the commander of a yacht to paſs through the fleet, and to oblige the Admiral to take down his flag. The Captain, purſuant to his inſtructions, ſet ſail with his yacht, and encountering the whole Dutch fleet, who would not be brought to take down the flag, falls upon them, and fired on all ſides till his powder and ball was quite ſpent. But the Dutch, well underſtanding the deſign of this inſult, choſe rather to ſuffer patiently the tearing of their tackle, than to return one ſhot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair weather with their neighbours. And that they might prevent the city of Cologn from falling into the hands of thoſe who might make uſe of it to their prejudice, they treated with the magiſtrates of that place; and finding them diſpoſed to receive their aſſiſtance, they ſent them a regiment of foot commanded by Col. Bampfield.

The canton of Bern having raiſed 2400 men for the ſervice of the King of France in twelve companies, proceeded to nominate the officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that King the nomination of officers for the other two, according to the agreement made between them. They ſtipulated in their treaty, That none of their forces ſhould be employed againſt any people of the reformed religion: which condition was readily accepted by the

King

King of France; who knew, that if he ſhould break with the King of Spain or the Emperor, he might uſe the Proteſtant Switzers againſt them, whilſt thoſe that were furniſhed by the Popiſh cantons, ſhould be employed againſt the Dutch. This contract with France was made without conſulting the other cantons, and at a lower rate than had been ſettled by the laſt treaty with that crown. On which laſt account chiefly ſome members of this union ſhewed themſelves much diſguſted. But, upon the whole matter, though I have heard many arguments brought to juſtify the way uſed by the Switzers for keeping their people continually exerciſed to arms, yet it were to be wiſhed, that ſome means might be found to cauſe this traffic to ceaſe, and to perſuade thoſe who have authority, to examine the juſtice of every cauſe in which they engage, and not to ſuffer their ſubjects to make a trade of war. The King of France was much diſpleaſed with the government of Zurich, for refuſing to permit any levies of men to be made among them at this time. But he ſent letters of thanks to thoſe of Bern for their ready compliance with his demands; confirming what had been promiſed on his part, and offering, as they had deſired, his mediation to compoſe the differences between them and the Biſhop of Baſle, with aſſurances of his aſſiſtance to conſtrain the Biſhop to accept reaſonable conditions. He promiſed to maintain them in poſſeſſion of the Pais de Veaux, and to pay all the arrears of penſions that ſhould appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time, the Dutch, with the utmoſt diligence, prepare to ſend out their fleet. They nominated Michael Adrian de Ruyter to be their Admiral, and the Heer Cornelius de Wit to be commiſſioner for the States at ſea, allowing a guard of twelve halberdiers to attend his perſon. They hoped to prevent the conjunction of the Engliſh and French fleets, but could not: for the Engliſh having notice that the Count D'Eſtrees, who commanded the French, was arrived with his ſhips at the Iſle of Wight, found means to join them in that road; yet not without the loſs of one of their frigats, which carried 38 guns, and was taken by the Zelandia almoſt without reſiſtance, the ſeamen being generally unwilling to be employed in this war. On the 7th of June 1672, the two fleets engaged near Solebay, the French ſquadron againſt Adm. Bankart; the Engliſh blue ſquadron, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, againſt the Heer Van Ghent, Admiral of Amſterdam; and the red ſquadron, commanded by the Duke of York, againſt the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter. The fight was bloody, and continued from eight in the morning to ſun-ſet. The French behaved themſelves as if they deſired to be ſpectators rather than actors in this tragedy. The Duke of York was obliged to ſhift his ſhip, either becauſe ſhe was diſabled, or the better to provide for his own ſafety. But the greateſt loſs fell upon the blue ſquadron; the Admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch fireſhip, the Earl of Sandwich drowned, many voluntiers and officers killed, with a great number of private ſeamen. On the Dutch ſide, the Admiral of Amſterdam, the Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and Capt. Brakel, were killed. Three of De Wit's guards were ſhot by his ſide, and a fourth loſt both his legs by a cannon-ball. After this fight, the French ſet ſail for Breſt, and the Engliſh retired into port, leaving the Dutch maſters at ſea for that time.

The States of Holland, well knowing that the alliance between the Engliſh court and the King of France was not at all pleaſing to the people of England, publiſhed a declaration, to ſhew that they had been conſtrained to make war againſt the King and his privy council, who had deſigned and endeavoured to deprive them of their commerce and liberty, and to render the crown of England abſolute and independent; but that they were ready to conſent, that the people of England might trade freely either with them or others. They diſcharged and ſet at liberty ſuch ſhips, men and merchandize, belonging to the Engliſh nation, as they had ſeized in their ports, in requital of the attempt made by the court of England to ſurpriſe their homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, before any declaration of war had been publiſhed againſt them. Theſe things obliged the King to promiſe reſtitution of what had been unjuſtly taken from the Dutch before the date of the ſaid declaration. But whatever advantages the Dutch might have by ſea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their loſſes at land.

The King of France having drawn together 120,000 effective men, divided them into *three* bodies. The firſt, conſiſting of 70,000, he took under his own peculiar command. At the head of the ſecond, which was of 40,000, he placed the Prince of Conde; and gave about 10,000 men more to the Count of Chamilly, to ſerve as a flying camp. All theſe forces directing their march towards Maeſtricht, a council of war was held in the King's quarters; and a debate ariſing about beſieging that place, it was adjudged to be an enterprize ſo full of hazard and difficulty, by reaſon of the numerous garriſon and good fortifications about the town, that they reſolved to turn their march towards the Rhine, where the places were not in ſo good condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave Chamilly near Tongeren, to prevent the excurſions of the garriſon of Maeſtricht; which was done. The two armies commanded by the King and Prince of Conde marched ſeveral days without ſeeing an enemy, except only about 200 men, who had intrenched themſelves on the ſide of the Rhine, and rendered themſelves priſoners after little reſiſtance. From thence the Prince of Conde was ſent to beſiege Weſel; whilſt the King beſieged Orſoy, and the Marſhal Turenne Burick. Theſe three ſieges being undertaken at the ſame time, cauſed a general alarm. But when they ſaw that Orſoy had hardly held out twenty four hours, and that Burick and Weſel had been ſurrendered in little more than the ſame time, the conſternation greatly increaſed. The Governor of Weſel, which was accounted a ſtrong place, was ſentenced to loſe his head; but having ſome friends about the Prince of Orange, the executioner was ordered only to paſs the ſword over him. The Count D'Eſtrades was, in conſideration of his ſervices and particular correſpondences in Holland, made Governor of this place. Reez, Emerik, Beavize, and Dedekom, followed the example: and an Iriſhman, who commanded at Rhinberg, finding himſelf beſieged by the King of France, was ſo frighted, that he delivered the town without a ſhot; and was afterwards beheaded for his cowardice. The King deſigning to paſs the Yſſel, in order to attack the places on the other ſide of that river, communicated his deſign to the Prince of Conde, and to the Marſhal de Turenne; who having diſſuaded him from the attempt as too dangerous, it was reſolved to try to paſs the Rhine, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this reſolution, they procured the beſt advice they could get; and were informed by a betrayer of his country, that there was a place where the water was low, and the paſſage ſafe: which being tried, and found to be according to the information, the King expreſſed more than ordinary ſatisfaction, becauſe he could as well enter the country that way as by the Yſſel, and fall upon the enemy's rear. The Dutch ſuſpecting this place, had already ſent an officer to ſecure the paſſage; but he finding himſelf too weak, abandoned the poſt with the approbation of the States Deputies; and Lt-Gen. Wurtz was ſent by the Prince of Orange with a greater force. By this means much time was loſt, and the King of France had leiſure to erect batteries; which galled the horſe of Wurtz in ſuch a manner, that they found themſelves obliged to ſhelter in the woods. All things being prepared by the French, part of a regiment of horſe paſſed the river, and were received ſo warmly by Wurtz, that they were forced back into the water: but being ſeconded by more of their companions, they ſoon became ſtrong enough to make good their ground, and to put the Dutch horſe to flight. However, in this paſſage, the Duke of Longueville, nephew to the Prince of Conde, was killed, and the Prince himſelf wounded in the wriſt by a muſket-ball. After this the French took the caſtle of Tolhuys, and laid a bridge of boats over the Rhine; which ſo terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their intrenchments: ſo that the King, who had deſigned to attack them, finding that work over, repaſſed the river, and ſent the Marſhal Turenne to command the Prince of Conde's army during his abſence. Then the King reſolved to paſs the Yſſel; and was not a little ſurpriſed to find the paſſage ſo eaſy, and quite otherwiſe than had been repreſented to him. Having beſieged and taken Doeſburg, Deputies arrived in his camp from Utrecht, offering to deliver the town and dependencies. The Duke of Orleans took Zutphen in Gelderland; and the King himſelf advanced to Utrecht, having ſent a Lieutenant-General with ſome troops to take poſſeſſion before. Here he received the Dutch Ambaſſadors, who were ſent by the States to know upon what terms he would treat. In the mean time, the Marſhal Turenne poſſeſſed himſelf of Arnheim, the fort of Knotſemburg, and Nimeguen; which laſt place was better defended than any other had been. Upon this news the Dutch abandoned Graven, which Turenne ſeized. Bommel and the Sckincken Scans fell alſo into the hands of the French; the Biſhop of Munſter took Grol and Deventer; and the Marquis de Rochefort made himſelf maſter of Naerden, and ſome other places.

This aſtoniſhing ſucceſs attending the French in every attempt, drove the common people of Holland into rage and deſpair. Diſaſters came ſo thick upon them, that they could not diſcern the inequality of their forces, when compared to the united ſtrength of France and England. They would not reflect upon the natural impetuoſity of the French nation, or the ſuddenneſs of the invaſion; but, in ſpite to common ſenſe, would needs believe that men of republican principles had conſpired to betray the commonwealth to one or both of the confederated monarchs. And though I am not concerned to defend thoſe who at that time had the principal part in the adminiſtration of affairs in Holland; yet the King of England himſelf ſhall be their compurgator, not only on his own account, *but* alſo in reſpect of his brother of France. His words are theſe. "The inſolencies and continual contrivances againſt me, of certain perſons, who for ſome time paſt have had the principal direction of affairs in the government of the United Netherlands, have neceſſitated me to make an alliance with the Moſt Chriſtian King, who alſo has the ſame grounds of complaint againſt them, *having* no other end, than to ſuppreſs the inſupportable greatneſs of the Louveſtein faction; and to ſecure ourſelves from the like inſults and affronts for the time to come, *&c.*" But the people being deaf to all reaſon, things every where tended to ſedition and tumult; divers of the clergy, particularly one Lantman at the Hague, and Borſtius at Roterdam, exciting the populace, both by printing and preaching, againſt their governors. In this unhappy ſtate of affairs it fell out, that, on the 20th of June 1672, the Penſionary John de Wit coming out of the council in the Hague at eleven o'clock at night, accompanied only by one ſervant who carried

Letter written by K. Ch. II.

carried a torch in his hand, was aſſaulted by four perſons, wounded, and left for dead. The next day one of theſe aſſaſſins, by name Jacob Vander-Graef, was ſeized, tried, condemned, and in a few days executed; the States of Holland judging this expedition to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of their own perſons in the exercife of their employments. On the 24th of July in the ſame year, Cornelius de Wit, ancient Burgomaſter of Dort, Grand Bailie of Putten, and elder brother to the Penſionary, was brought priſoner to the Hague, upon the accuſation of one Tichelaar a barber-ſurgeon, who depoſed, That the priſoner would have hired him to poiſon the Prince of Orange. He was ſeveral times put to the rack, and conſtantly aſſerted his innocence: yet he was ſentenced to loſe his offices and dignities, and to be baniſhed for ever from Holland and Weſt-Frieſland. This ſentence being publiſhed, cauſed men to murmur, as their paſſions variouſly inclined them. Some ſaid, that if he were guilty, the puniſhment was too little; and if innocent, too much: others ſaid, that he was certainly guilty, becauſe his judges had ſet the accuſer at liberty. Tichelaar in the mean time went about the Hague, and told the people that he had convicted the Grand Bailie; which ſuggeſtion brought great numbers of them about the priſon-doors. In the mean time his brother John de Wit came in his coach to take him out of the priſon. Upon which one of the populace cried out, "That now the two traitors "were together, they ſhould not eſcape." In this inſtant a falſe report was ſpread among the people, that ſome thouſands of boors were coming to plunder the Hague; by which means the two brothers were deprived of all hopes of ſafety: for, upon this report, the guards that had been placed by the council of ſtate about the priſon for the defence of the priſoner, took occaſion to draw off, and left them to the mercy of the rabble; who, growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the priſon, and divers of them ruſhed into the chamber where the two brothers were. John de Wit, who was ſitting on the bedſide with a book in his hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for anſwer, that they ſhould ſee if they would go down; he took his brother by the hand, and led him down to the ſtreet; where they were no ſooner arrived, but the enraged multitude fell upon them, and with a thouſand wounds moſt barbarouſly murdered them. The particulars of this cruelty are ſo abominable, and ſo exceeding all example, that I purpoſely omit any farther mention of this tragical ſtory.

The King of France, in purſuance of the agreement he had made with the canton of Bern, procured the differences between them and the Biſhop of Baſle to be adjuſted according to their Excellencies deſire. But that part of the treaty by which he had promiſed not to employ their ſubjects againſt any of the reformed religion, was not ſo well obſerved; for he had uſed them in the war againſt the States of Holland, and obliged them to ſerve on all occaſions without diſtinction, contrary to his promiſe, and to the oath that both officers and ſoldiers had taken before their departure from Switzerland. This uſage the Swiſs officers and ſoldiers reſenting, deputed one Monſ. de Beur, an officer of their body, to acquaint their Excellencies, that they had been conſtrained againſt their inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they cauſed him to be ſeized at Metz, where he was put into a dungeon. And though, upon the ſolicitation of his friends in Switzerland, their Excellencies deſired his liberty, they could not for ſome time obtain any more than a better accommodation for him in the priſon; the late ſucceſſes of France having carried that court to ſuch a height, that they cauſed a letter to be written by Monſ. Stuppa to the canton of Bern, to let them know, that the King accounted himſelf little obliged to them for the men they had raiſed under pretence of ſerving him; and that he was better ſatisfied with the refuſal of the canton of Zurich, than with their grant, which was accompanied with ſuch reſtrictions and regret. The government of Bern finding their affairs with France to be in this uncertain condition, were doubtful what meaſures to take in the diſpute which had been on foot for ſome time, and ſtill continued, between the Duke of Savoy and thoſe of Geneva, on account of a fort which had been built by the Duke within half a league of that city, under colour of a magazine for the veſſels he had built, and to ſecure a port for their uſe; poſitively requiring all thoſe of Geneva who poſſeſſed lands within the juriſdiction of Savoy, to hear maſs on pain of forfeiture. However, the Proteſtant cantons having ſeriouſly conſidered the importance of this affair, ſent to the Duke of Savoy to demand, Whether he would have peace or war? and whether he would in all things make good the treaties that had been concluded with them, by his anceſtors, or not? But before the Duke had determined what anſwer to give to this meſſage, an accident happened, which ſerved to ſecure thoſe of Geneva from any apprehenſions from Savoy at that time. For the Duke of Savoy having corrupted the Governor of Savona, (which belongs to the republic of Genoa), and received his promiſe to put him into poſſeſſion of the place, had raiſed forces, and ordered them to march thither. But the officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the enterprize in execution, it was ſo long delayed, that the government of Genoa had notice of their march; and ſuſpecting their deſign, immediately removed the Governor, and changed the garriſon. The Duke finding his project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he deſigned any clandeſtine attempt, (for no ſort of men will avow an unſucceſsful treachery); and therefore he publiſhed a declaration of the reaſons that moved him to make war againſt Genoa; which were ſo ſlight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather ſought to cover his deſign upon Savona, than that he had any juſt cauſe of quarrel to pretend; it being notorious to all perſons concerned, that the Duke had received offers of ſatisfaction to the utmoſt of what he could demand. In conſequence of the declaration, his forces poſſeſſed themſelves of Pieve, a place belonging to the Genoeſes, but of no great ſtrength or importance. On the other ſide, the government of Genoa ſent to complain to the King of France, That, contrary to the agreement which he by his agent had made between the Duke of Savoy and them, the Duke's forces had attacked them in a hoſtile manner. But yet they omitted not, at the ſame time, to draw together what force they could to do themſelves right, if other means ſhould fail. The Duke's army finding Pieve not to be tenible, quitted the place, and marched to Caſtle-Vecchio, with intention to fortify it by reaſon of its advantageous ſituation. But the Genoeſes well knowing the importance of Caſtle-Vecchio, drew together about 9000 men and ſeized all the avenues, before the Savoyards had made any proviſion for their ſubſiſtence. So that the Governor, with about 300 officers and ſoldiers, found no other way to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy, but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the reſt to ſhift for themſelves; and the next day the Genoeſes poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, killing and taking priſoners all thoſe that were within. From thence they went to Oneglia, reſolving to ſtorm the town by ſea and land; but the Savoyards prevented them, and capitulated to leave both officers and ſoldiers to be priſoners of war. In theſe actions, the Marquis of Parella, with many of the principal Nobility, were taken, and carried priſoners to Genoa: which, with ſome other ſucceſſes obtained by that commonwealth againſt the Duke of Savoy, obliged him to entertain cooler thoughts than he had done, and to haſten his anſwer to the demands of the Proteſtant cantons; in which he profeſſed, he would have no difference with them, being ſincerely deſirous of their friendſhip; that indeed he had been much ſurpriſed they ſhould take any umbrage on account of a houſe he had built in his own territories, and intereſt themſelves in the differences which had happened between him and thoſe of Geneva, who, he ſaid, had broken the treaty of St. Julian; which yet, for their Excellencies ſake, he would obſerve, as if it were ſtill in full force.

A COLLECTION of LETTERS and other PAPERS relating to divers important paſſages of the preceeding memoirs.

The King's letters to the Queen.

I.

15.
Oxford, Jan. 9.

Dear Heart,

SInce my laſt, which was by Talbot, the Scots commiſſioners have ſent to deſire me to ſend a commiſſion to the general aſſembly in Edinburgh; which I am reſolved not to do, but, to the end of making ſome uſe of this occaſion, by ſending an honeſt man to London; and that I may have the more time for the making a handſome negative, I have demanded a paſſport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my anſwer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthal the Speaker brags that Cardinal Mazarin keeps a ſtrict intelligence with him; though I will not ſwear that Lenthal ſays true, I am ſure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am confident that either he or his inſtructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertiſed from London, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons, (beſides four Scotch commiſſioners), appointed to treat; and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular perſons. I am likewiſe newly advertiſed, that General Goring proſpers well where he is, and ſince Monday laſt hath taken 80 of the rebels horſe; and upon his advance they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

POSTSCRIPT.

The ſettling of religion and the militia, are the firſt to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Epiſcopacy, nor that ſword which God hath given into my hands.

29. 15.
Copy to my wife, 9. Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

II.

31.
Oxford, Sunday, 30 March.

Dear Heart,

SInce my laſt (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations happened of moment; preparations rather than actions being yet our chiefeſt buſineſs; in which we hope that we proceed faſter than the rebels, whoſe levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very ſlowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For inſtance, a very honeſt ſervant of mine, and no fool, ſhewed me a propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable London rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his propoſition will take effect; it is this, That ſince the treaty is ſo broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can reſume it, without, at leaſt, a ſeeming total yielding to the other, the treaty ſhould be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-aſſurance, that the rebels will ſubmit to reaſon. The anſwer that I permitted my ſervant to give, was, That thou art the much fitteſt perſon to be the means of ſo happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be profaned,* therefore he was to be *ſatisfied of the rebels willingneſs to yield to reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch intimation ſhould be made to thee; and particu-*

larly

arly concerning religion and the militia, that nothing muſt be inſiſted upon but according to my former offers. This, I believe, will come to nothing; yet I cannot but advertiſe thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this conſequence.

I muſt again tell thee, that moſt aſſuredly France will be the beſt way for tranſportation of the Duke of Lorrain's army; there being divers fit and ſafe places of landing for them upon the Weſtern coaſts, beſides the ports under my obedience, as Shelſey near Chicheſter, and others; of which I will advertiſe thee when the time comes.

By my next I think to tell thee when I ſhall march into the field, for which money is now his greateſt want (I need ſay no more) who is eternally thine.

18. 31.
To my wife, 30 March 1645. By Petit.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

III.

30.
Oxford, Thurſday, 27 March.

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to thee yeſterday by Sakefield; the ſubject of it was only kindneſs to thee; which, I aſſure thee, ſhall ever be viſible in all my actions. And now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command; which is very clear, hopeful in moſt particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning thy care and induſtry. As for the main impediment in the Duke of Lorrain's buſineſs, (which is his paſſage), why may thou not procure him paſſage through France, if that of Holland be ſtuck at? It will much ſecure and facilitate the ſea-tranſportation in reſpect of landing on the Weſtern coaſt; which, I believe, will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many places to chuſe on any where elſe. But this an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of my affairs methinks begins to mend; the diſſenſions at London rather increaſing than ceaſing, Montroſe daily proſpering, my Weſtern buſineſs mending apace, and hopeful in all the reſt. So that, if I had reaſonable ſupplies of money and powder, (not to exclude any other), I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been ſince this rebellion began; and poſſibly I may put fair for the whole, and ſo enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And ſo farewel, dear heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to beſtow Percy's place on the M. of Newcaſtle, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy anſwer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Maſter of the Wards: for Cottington had it long ago before thou went hence; and I intended it to Secretary Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I deſire thee to command Lord Jer. to read to thee the D.'s letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the tranſportation of the Duke of Lorrain's army.

23. 30.
To my wife, 27 Mar. 1645. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

IV.

39.
Oxford, Sunday, 4 May.

Dear Heart,

THE rebels new brutiſh General hath refuſed to meddle with foreign paſſes; ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch Adrian May to thee by the way of London;

which if I cannot very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the Weſt. And now, if I could be aſſured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts: for I thank God, my affairs begin to ſmile upon me again, Wales being well ſwept of the rebels; Farrington having relieved itſelf, and now being ſecured by Goring's coming; my nephews likewiſe having brought me a ſtrong party of horſe and foot. Theſe quarters are ſo free, that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am ſtill confident to have the ſtart of the rebels this year. I am likewiſe very hopeful, that my ſon will ſhortly be on the head of a good army; for this I have the chearful aſſurance of Culpeper and Hyde. Of late I have been much preſſed to make Southampton Maſter of my Horſe, not ſo much for good-will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recozening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealouſy and diſcontents were like to ariſe: wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place; which will both ſave me charge, and ſtop other mens grumblings. I have now no more to ſay; but, praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I reſt eternally thine.

To my wife, 4 May 1645. By Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

V.

13.
Oxford, 2 Jan.

Dear Heart,

HAving decyphered thine, which I received yeſterday, I was much ſurpriſed to find thee blame me, for neglecting to write to thee: for indeed I have often complained for want, never miſt any occaſion of ſending to thee; and I aſſure thee never any diſpatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

“ As for my calling thoſe at London a parliament, I ſhall refer thee to Digby for particular ſatisfaction: this in general; if there had been but two, beſides myſelf, of my opinion, I had not done it: and th argument that prevailed with me, was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and conſtruction I di it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is regiſtred in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation. But thou wilt find, that i was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou haſt bee no ſooner advertiſed of it.”

As for the concluſion of thy letter, it would muc trouble me, if thou didſt not know thy deſire grant before it was aſked: yet I wonder not at it, ſinc that which may bear a bad conſtruction, hath bee preſented to thee in the ugliest form, not having re ceived the true reaſon and meaning of it. The fear o ſome ſuch miſchance made me the more careful to giv thee a full account by Tom Elliot, of the reaſons o the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London; which i it come ſoon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble. But if thou haſt not the patience to forbear judging harſhly of my actions, before thou heareſt the reaſons of them from me, thou mayſt be often ſubject to be doubly vexed, firſt with ſlanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, eſteem me as thou findeſt me conſtant to thoſe grounds thou lefts me withal, and ſo farewel, dear heart.

21. 13.

Copy to my wife, 2 Jan. 1645. By P. A.

4.

This is a true copy, examined by

Edw. Prideaux.

VI.

VI.

21.

Oxford, 19 Feb. O. S.

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet ſend thee any certain word concerning the iſſue of our treaty; only the unreaſonable ſtubbornneſs of the rebels, gives daily leſs and leſs hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſtening all thou mayſt, all poſſible aſſiſtance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorrain's; concerning which I received yeſterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the Prince of Orange will furniſh ſhipping for his tranſportation, and that the reſt of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection ſo accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their ſeveral kinds) to eſteem moſt. But I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but poſſible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyll by Montroſe; who upon ſurpriſe totally routed thoſe rebels, and killed 1500 upon the place. Yeſterday I received thine of 27 Jan. by the Portugal agent; the only way (but expreſſes) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee. Indeed Sabran ſent me word yeſterday, beſides *ſome compliments of the imbargo of the rebels ſhips in France, (which I likewiſe put upon thy ſcore of kindneſs)*; but is well enough content, that the Portugal ſhould be charged with thy diſpatches. As for truſting the rebels, either by going to London, or diſbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly: for I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit, (at leaſt by the ſympathy that is betwixt us), than to put myſelf into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently expecting the expreſs thou haſt promiſed me, I reſt eternally thine.

I

I can now aſſure thee, that Hertogen the Iriſh agent is an arrant knave; which ſhall be made manifeſt t thee by the firſt opportunity of ſending packets.

11. 21.
To my wife, 19 Feb. 1645. By P. A

4.
This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX

VII.

20.

Dear Heart,

THE expectation of an expreſs from thee (as I fin by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news me, as likewiſe that thou art now well ſatisfied wi my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there every day leſs hopes than other, that it will produce peace. But I will abſolutely promiſe thee, that if w have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy return For I avow, that without thy company I can neithe have peace nor comfort within my ſelf. The limite days for treating are now almoſt expired without th leaſt agreement upon any one article. Wherefore have ſent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I aſſure thee, that thou *needſt not doubt the iſſue of this treaty; for my commiſſioners are ſo well choſen, (though I ſay it), that they will neither be threatened nor diſputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou ſo well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but *their* judgments concur. I confeſs in ſome reſpects thou haſt reaſon to bid me beware of going too ſoon to London: for indeed ſome amongſt us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which perſuaſion Percy is one of the chief, who is ſhortly like to ſee thee; of whom having ſaid this, is enough to ſhew thee how he is to be truſted or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. *In ſhort, there is little or no appearance but that this ſummer will be the hotteſt for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I ſhall ever ſhew my conſtancy in adhering to Biſhops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpetual parliament. But, as thou loves me, let none perſuade thee to ſlacken thine aſſiſtance for him who is eternally thine.*

C. R.

15. 4.
Oxford, 25 Feb. 1645.

3. 20.
To my wife, 15 Feb. 1645. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

VIII.

22.
Dear Heart,

NOW is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs end (as to a preſent peace) of this treaty. But I am ſtill confident, that I ſhall find very good effects of it: for beſides that my commiſſioners have offered, to ſay no more, full-meaſured reaſon, and the rebels have ſtuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare ſay had been too much though they had taken me priſoner, ſo that aſſuredly the breach will light foully upon them; we have likewiſe at this time diſcovered, and ſhall make it evidently appear to the world, that the Engliſh rebels (whether baſely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, tranſmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots; which (beſides the reflexion it will have upon theſe rebels) will clearly ſhew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much leſs the only end of the Scots rebellion. But it being preſumption, and no piety, ſo to truſt to a good cauſe, as not to uſe *all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furniſh thee with for my aſſiſtance, than hitherto thou haſt had. It is, that I give thee power to promiſe in my name (to whom thou thinkeſt moſt fit), that, I will take away all the penal laws againſt the Roman Catholics in England as ſoon as God ſhall enable me to do it; ſo as, by their means, or in their favours, I may have ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable me to do it.* But if thou aſk what I call that aſſiſtance; I anſwer, That when thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen, if it deſerves to be ſo eſteemed. I need not tell thee what ſecrecy this buſineſs requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of confidence I can expreſs to thee; for it is no thanks to me to truſt to thee in any thing elſe but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; *and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this:* I truſting thee (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a Proteſtant, the viſible good of my affairs ſo much depending on it. I have ſo fully intruſted this bearer Pooly, that I will not ſay more to thee now; but that herewith I ſend thee a new cypher, (aſſuring thee that none hath, or ſhall have any copy of it but my ſelf), to the end thou mayſt uſe it, when thou ſhalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and ſo likewiſe from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20. 23.
To my wife, the 5 March 1645. By Pooly.

4.
This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

IX.

IX.

The little that is here in cyphers, is in that which I ſent to thee by Pooly.

33.

Oxford, Wed. 9 April 1645.

Dear Heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow meſſenger, yet all occaſions of this (which is now the only) way of converſing with thee, are ſo welcome to me as I ſhall be loth to loſe any; but expect neither news or public buſineſs from me, by this way of conveyance; yet, judging thee by my ſelf, even theſe nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I ſhould chide thee; which if I could I would do, for thy too ſudden taking alarms. I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inſeparably conjoined with thine, muſt not all my actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead (I ſpeak not in reſpect of the common diſtractions) even in point of converſation, which, in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare ſay thou would pity me; for ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh; ſome too buſy, others too reſerved; many fantaſtic. In a word, when I know none better, (I ſpeak not now in relation to buſineſs), then* 3 9 8. 270. 55: 57: 67: 18: 294: 35: 69: 16:54: 638: 1: 67: 68: 91 66: *thou may eaſily judge how my converſation pleaſeth me.* I confeſs thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſs to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this diſeaſe. The end of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters; and doſt not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou ſpendeſt the time, are pleaſing ſubjects unto me, though thou haſt no other buſineſs to write of? Believe me, ſweet heart, thy kindneſs is as neceſſary to comfort my heart, as thy aſſiſtance is for my affairs.

To my wife, 9 April, 1645. By Binion.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

X.

X.

Oxford, Thurſday, 20 March.

Dear Heart,

Upon Saturday laſt I wrote to thee by Sabran, (but this I believe may come as ſoon to thee), and I have received thine of the ſeventh, upon Monday laſt, which gave me great contentment both in preſent and expectation; (the quick paſſage being likewiſe a welcome circumſtance); and yet I cannot but find a fault of omiſſion in moſt of thy latter diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confeſs, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; and I hope thou wilt, by ſatisfying me, confeſs the juſtneſs of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation, (I pray God ſend me a good unlading); for I look daily for ſome blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewſbury; and I am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of men from Ireland. Likewiſe the refractory horſe (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in: for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howſoever, I doubt not, but if they ſtand out, (as it is probable), good uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having ſent to try their pulſes. Petit came yeſterday; but he having at London thruſt his diſpatches into the States Ambaſſadors packets, I have not yet received them; and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good weſtern news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four days. Only I congratulate with thee for the ſafe arrival of thy tinn adventure at Callis: and ſo farewel, ſweet heart.

Thine of the 10th I have newly received; whereby I find that thou much miſtakes me concerning Ir. for I deſire nothing more than peace there, and never forbade thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of ſome Iriſh in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my wiſe, 20 of March 164$\frac{3}{4}$. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XI.

Droit Wiche, Wedneſday, 14 May.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of ſending my letters ſo ſafe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford; however, I ſhall not fail to do what I can to ſend often to thee. There is ſo little news for the preſent, as I will leave that ſubject for others; only upon Saturday laſt I received a diſpatch from Montroſe, which aſſures me his condition to be ſo good, that he bids me be confident that his countrymen ſhall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 horſe, he would undertake to bring me 20,000 men before the end of this ſummer. For the general ſtate of my affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this army being of a good ſtrength, well ordered, and increaſing; my ſon's ſuch, that Fairfax will not be refuſed to be fought with; of which I hope thou wilt receive good ſatisfaction from himſelf. 'Tis true, that I cannot brag for ſtore of money, but a ſharp ſword always hinders ſtarving at leaſt; and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full, (and certainly we ſhall make as good a ſhift with empty purſes as they), or they muſt have ſome greater defect, elſe their levies could not be ſo backward as they are; for I aſſure thee that I have at this inſtant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their northern forces are; but except they are much ſtronger than I am made believe, I may likewiſe include them.

Now, I muſt make a complaint to thee of my ſon

Charles, *which troubles me the more, that thou mayſt ſuſpect I ſeek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word; which I hate above all things, eſpecially to thee. It is this: He hath ſent to deſire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be ſworn Gentleman of his Bedchamber; but already ſo publicly engaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſgrace both to my ſon, and the young Gentleman; to whom it is not fit to give a juſt diſtaſte, eſpecially now, conſidering his father's merits, his own hopefulneſs, beſides the great power that family has in the weſt.* Yet I have refuſed the admitting of him until I ſhall hear from thee. Wherefore I deſire thee firſt to chide my ſon for engaging himſelf without one of our conſents; then, not to refuſe thy own conſent; and laſtly, to believe, that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this, while yeſterday at the delivery of my ſon's letter. So farewel, ſweet heart; and God ſend me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy affection to me ſo truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my reputation, as my life, in danger: therefore, leſt the falſe ſound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon baſe and unſafe terms ſhould diſturb thy thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure thy mind from ſuch rumours) to tell thee the ways I have uſed to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I ſhall firſt ſhew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better underſtand and approve of my ways. Then know, (as a certain truth), that all, even my party, are ſtrangely impatient for peace; which obliged me ſo much the more (at all occaſions) to ſhew my real intentions to peace. *And likewiſe I am put in very good hope, (ſome hold it a certainty), that if I could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace: firſt, becauſe their own party are moſt weary of the war; and likewiſe for the great diſtractions which at this time moſt aſſuredly are amongſt themſelves, as Preſbyterians againſt Independents in religion, and General againſt General in point of command. Upon theſe grounds a treaty being moſt deſirable, (not without hope of good ſucceſs), the moſt probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which might ſtand with honour and ſafety. Amongſt the reſt, (for I will omit all thoſe which are unqueſtionably councilable), the ſound of my return to London was thought to have ſo much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had; or if refuſed, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me. Yet, leſt fooliſh or malicious people ſhould interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the propoſition, (without which this ſound will ſignify nothing) which thou wilt find to be moſt of the chief ingredients of an honourable and ſafe peace.* Then obſerve, if a treaty at London with commiſſioners for both ſides may be had without it, it is not to be uſed; nor in caſe they will treat with no body but myſelf: ſo that the conditions ſave any aſperſion of diſhonour; and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious ſpirits here may infuſe into this treaty upon this ſubject. This I hope will ſecure thee from the trouble which otherwiſe may be cauſed by falſe malicious rumours: and though I judge myſelf ſecure in thy thoughts, from ſuſpecting me guilty of any baſeneſs; yet I held this account neceſſary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyſelf, this certain truth, that no danger of death, or miſery, which I think much worſe, ſhall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the ſtate of my preſent affairs I refer thee to 92.; concluding, (as I did in my laſt to thee), by conjuring thee, as thou loveſt me, that no appearance of peace, (and now I add) nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſte ſuccour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, Decemb. 1644. By Tom. Elliot.

This is a true copy, examined by.

Edm. Prideaux.

XIII.

Oxford, 13 March, old ſtyle.

Dear Heart,

WHat I told thee the laſt week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday laſt handſomely performed; and now if I do any thing unhandſome, or diſadvantageous to myſelf or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for I confeſs, when I wrote laſt, I was in fear to have been preſſed to make ſome mean overtures to renew the treaty, knowing that there were great labourings to that purpoſe. But now I promiſe thee, *if it be renewed, (which I believe will not without ſome eminent good ſucceſs on my ſide), it ſhall be to my honour and advantage; I being now as well freed from the place of baſe and mutinous motions, (that is to ſay, our mongrel parliament here), as of the chief cauſers: for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them*; Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suſſex within few days taking his journey to thee; but that I know, thou careſt not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences. Yet I muſt tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect ſteadineſs of thy love to me, I might reaſonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee was ſome cauſe of this permiſſive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March; by which thou puts me in hope of aſſiſtance of men and money.

And it is no little expreſſion of thy love to me, that (becauſe of my buſineſs) feſtivals are troubleſome to thee: *but I ſee that aſſemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee*; and it may be done a purpoſe to make thee weary of their companies. And excuſe me to tell thee in earneſt, that it is no wonder, that mere ſtateſmen ſhould deſire to be rid of thee; therefore I deſire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a perſonal friendſhip with the Queen Regent, (without ſhewing any diſtruſt of her miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them); and to ſhew her, that when her regency comes out, (and poſſibly before), ſhe may have need of her friends, ſo that ſhe ſhall but ſerve herſelf by helping of thee; and to ſay no more, but certainly if this rebellion had not begun to oppreſs me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than ſhe did. In the laſt place, I deſire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health; for I fear leſt in that alone thou takeſt not care enough to expreſs thy kindneſs to him who is eternally thine.

The northern news is rather better than what we firſt heard: for what by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Montroſe's victories, Carliſle and the reſt of our northern garriſons are relieved, and we hope for this year ſecured; and, beſides all this, the northern horſe are already returned, and joined with my nephew Rupert.

To my wife, 13 March, 164$\frac{4}{5}$. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XIV.

Daintrey, Sunday, 8 June.

Dear Heart,

OXford being free, I hope this will come ſooner to thee, than otherwiſe I could have expected;

which makes me believe that my good news will not b very ſtale; which in ſhort is this. Since the taking o Leiceſter, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford, made the rebels raiſe their ſiege before I could come nea them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten u by that garriſon, and loſt four hundred men at an aſſault before Boſtol-houſe. At firſt I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far a Brackley, but are ſince gone aſide to Brick-hill; ſo a I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their diſtractions, (which are certainly very great), Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwel's likewiſe at blows together, where a Captain was ſlein, or wanting their men, I will not ſay. Beſides, Goring hath given a great defeat to the weſtern rebels; but I do not yet know the particulars. Wherefore I may (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that (ſince this rebellion) my affairs were never in ſo fair and hopeful a way; though among ourſelves we want not our own follies; which is needleſs, and, I am ſure, tedious to tell thee; but ſuch as, I am confident, ſhall do no harm, nor much trouble me. Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitzwilliams, aſſuring me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindneſs, which makes me capable of taking contentment in theſe good ſucceſſes; *for as divers men purpoſe ſeveral recompences to themſelves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, ſo thy company is the only reward I expect and wiſh for.*

To my wife, 9 June, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

XV.

Dear Heart,

SUnday laſt I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30 Decemb. another of the 6 Jan.
and

and the laſt of the 14 Jan. ; and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the laſt ; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expreſſions of thy confident love of me, ſo I muſt extremely wonder, that any who pretends to be a friend to our cauſe, (for I believe thou wouldſt not mention any information from the other ſide), can invent ſuch lies, that thou haſt had ill offices done to me by any ; or that thy care for my aſſiſtance hath been the leaſt ſuſpected ; it being ſo far from truth, that the juſt contrary is true. For I proteſt to God I never heard thee ſpoken of, but with the greateſt expreſſions of eſtimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my aſſiſtance: but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare ſuſpicion. And indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it ſhould be for not taking ſo much care of thine own health as of my aſſiſtance, at leaſt not giving me ſo often account of it as I deſire ; theſe three laſt making no mention of thyſelf. Now, as for the treaty, (which begins this day), I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor ſuch a one as will not ſtand with my honour and ſafety ; of which I will ſay no more, becauſe, knowing thy love, I am ſure thou muſt believe me, and make others likewiſe confident of me.

I ſend thee herewith my directions to my commiſſioners ; but how I came to make them myſelf without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military as cabaliſtical matters. At this time I will ſay no more, but that I ſhall in all things (only not anſwering for words) truly ſhew myſelf to be eternally thine.

The Portugal agent hath made me two propoſitions ; firſt, concerning the releaſe of his maſter's brother, for which I ſhall have 50,000 l. if I can procure his liberty from the King of Spain ; the other is for a marriage betwixt my ſon Charles and his maſter's eldeſt daughter. For the firſt, I have freely undertaken to do what I can ; and for the other, I will *give ſuch an anſwer as ſhall ſignify nothing.*

I deſire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Iriſh agents in Paris; the particular reaſons thou ſhalt have by Pooly, (whom I intend for my next meſſenger). In the laſt place, I recommend to thee the care of Jerſey and Guernſey; it being impoſſible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at ſea.

To my wife, 30 Jan. 164⅘. By Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XVI.

Ormond,

THE impoſſibility of preſerving my Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you thoſe powers and directions; *which I have formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and the ſame growing daily much more evident, that alone were reaſon enough for me to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more poſitive. But, beſides theſe conſiderations, it being now manifeſt, that the Engliſh rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the command of Ireland to the Scots; that their aim is at a total ſubverſion of religion and regal power; and that nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe peace here; I think myſelf bound in conſcience, not to let ſlip the means of ſettling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loſe that aſſiſtance which I may hope from my Iriſh ſubjects, for ſuch ſcruples as in a leſs preſſing condition, might reaſonably be ſtuck at by me. For their ſatisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Iriſh, whatever it coſt; ſo that my Proteſtant ſubjects there may be ſecured, and my regal authority preſerved. But, for all this, you are to make me the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover your enlargement of power till you needs muſt. And though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary work entirely*

entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the ſuſpenſion of Poining's act for ſuch bills as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking away of the penal laws againſt Papiſts by a law, will do it, I ſhall not think it a hard bargain; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in my aſſiſtance againſt my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt conſcience or honour.

Copy to Ormond, 27 Febr. 164⅘.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XVII.

To Ormond.

Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

Ormond,

I Should wrong my own ſervice, and this Gentleman Sir Timothy Fetherſton, if I did not recommend him and his buſineſs to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby. And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me with materials ſufficient: but in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) peace cannot be had upon thoſe terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the ceſſation according to a poſtſcript in a letter by Jack Barry, (a copy of which diſpatch I herewith ſend you). So I reſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

In caſe, upon particular mens fancies, the Iriſh peace ſhould not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order, (which I hope will prove needleſs), to ſeek to renew the ceſſation for a year; for which *you ſhall promiſe the Iriſh,* (if you can have it no cheaper), *to joint with them againſt the Scots and Inchiquin:* for I hope, by that time my condition may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad to accept leſs, *or I be able to grant more*

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XVIII.

To Ormond.

Oxford, 7 Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

Ormond,

UPon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

“ The rebels here have agreed to treat: and moſt aſſuredly, one of the firſt and chief articles they will inſiſt on, will be to continue the Iriſh war; *which is a point not popular for me to break on.* Of which you are to make a double uſe: firſt, to haſten (with all poſſible diligence) the peace there; the timely concluſion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwiſe I may be ſubject to, by the refuſal of that article, upon any other reaſon. Secondly, by dexterous conveying to the Iriſh, the danger there may be of their total and perpetual excluſion from thoſe favours I intend them, in caſe the rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reaſonable terms, and only exclude them; which poſſibly were not counſelable for me to refuſe, if the Iriſh peace ſhould be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. Theſe, I hope, are ſufficient grounds for you to perſuade the Iriſh diligently to diſpatch a peace upon reaſonable terms; aſſuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my word, (in the concluſion of a peace), all the earth ſhall not make me break it.

“ But, not doubting of a peace, I muſt again remember

“ member you to preſs the Iriſh for their ſpeedy aſſiſtance to me here, and their friends in Scotland: my intention being, to draw from thence into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed Proteſtant ſubjects; and deſire, that the Iriſh would ſend as great a body as they can to land about Cumberland, which will put thoſe northern counties in a brave condition. Wherefore you muſt take ſpeedy order to provide all the ſhipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Iriſh bottoms; and remember, that after March it will be moſt difficult to tranſport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being maſters of the ſeas. So, expecting a diligent and particular account in anſwer to this letter, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XIX.

To Ormond,

15 Decemb. 1644.

Ormond,

I Am ſorry to find by Col. Barry the ſad condition of your particular fortune; for which *I cannot find* ſo good and ſpeedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewiſe *to redreſs* moſt neceſſary affairs here: wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of hand; for the doing of which, I hope my public diſpatch will give you ſufficient inſtruction and power; yet I have thought it neceſſary, for your more encouragement in this neceſſary work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for Poining's act, I refer you to my other letter: and for matter of religion, though I have not found it fit to take public notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet

I muſt command you to give him, *my L. Muſkerry, and Plunket*, particular thanks for it; aſſuring them, that without it there could have been no peace; and that ſticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, ſhall have comfort in what they have done. *And to ſhew that this is more than words, I do hereby promiſe them, (and command you to ſee it done), that the penal ſtatutes againſt Roman Catholics ſhall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Iriſh give me that aſſiſtance which they have promiſed, for the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, and I ſhall be reſtored to my rights, then I will conſent to the repeal of them by a law. But all thoſe againſt appeals to Rome, and premunire, muſt ſtand.* All this in cypher you muſt impart to none, but thoſe three already named, and that with injunction of ſtricteſt ſecrecy. So, again recommending to your care the ſpeedy diſpatch of the peace of Ireland, and my neceſſary ſupply from thence, as I wrote to you in my laſt private letter, I reſt.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XX.

The Earl of Glamorgan's inſtructions to me, to be preſented to your Majeſty.

THat (God willing) by end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with 6000 Iriſh.

That the Gentlemen of the ſeveral counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen, will very ſpeedily, for your Majeſty's ſervice in ſecuring theſe parts, raiſe and arm four thouſand men.

That with the ſhips which ſhall bring over the Iriſh, his Lordſhip deſigns to block up Milford-haven; at which time he doubts not to draw theſe Welch forces into Pembrokeſhire.

That, to advance theſe his undertakings, he hath thirty thouſand pounds ready, ten thouſand muſkets, two thouſand caſe of piſtols, eight hundred barrels of powder, beſides his own artillery; and is aſcertained of thirty thouſand pounds more, which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his ſhips, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

In order to this ſervice, he commanded me humbly to put your Majeſty in mind of his commiſſion, and that he may in fitting time have ſuch command in theſe counties as may be ſuitable to his employment, and conducing to the ſervice in hand; theſe being counties in which, if other deſigns of landing fail, he can land in: and that your Majeſty will ſeriouſly conſider the ſervices he hath done you in compoſing the diſtractions of the county of Monmouth: and that you will be pleaſed to countenance Sir Thomas Lunsford, and graciouſly relieve the country in ſuch things, as, without prejudicing your ſervice, may eaſe them.

Concerning the county of Monmouth only.

That, by his Lordſhip's means, who hath now raiſed two regiments himſelf, Sir Thomas Lunsford's forces will be one thouſand eight hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe; which horſe is intended to be quartered in the foreſt of Dean, in places of ſecure quartering; as Langot, attempted to have been taken by Sir John Winter, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the foreſt, and ſecuring Monmouthſhire

That, by his Lordſhip's intervention and endeavours, your Majeſty really ſees he hath much qualified the ſenſe of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints, by ſubducting the intended petition; and therefore hopes your Majeſty will ſo ſpecially commend their humble ſuit to Prince Rupert, as it may be ſucceſsful.

That though the prayer of their petition is, to reduce the contribution to the proportion ſet by the parliament at Oxford, yet his Lordſhip hath ſo wrought, as theſe petitioners have under their hands obliged themſelves to continue the double payment for two months more; and doubts not but, in relation to the exigence of your Majeſty's ſervice, to prevail for further time.

His humble ſuit is, that I may carry with me into the country your Majeſty's order, that the forces of Sir Thomas Lunsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occaſion, until his return; and that only upon your Majeſty's or Prince Rupert's ſpecial order; otherwiſe it will be a great obſtruction and diſcouragement in raiſing or continuing the number propoſed.

That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, in their favour, to write your letter to Prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to preſent it, to the end they may be eaſed of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unneceſſary garriſons; that Cheapſtow and Monmouth may be the better ſtrengthened.

That Sir Thomas Lunsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to ſuch order as the Prince ſhall make.

March 21. These preſented by your
1644.

loyal ſubject,

EDWARD BOSDON.

This is a true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXI.

XXI.

lonel Fitzwilliam humbly prays and propounds to the Queen as followeth,

THat your Sacred Majeſty will vouchſafe to prevail with his Majeſty, to condeſcend to the juſt demands of his Iriſh ſubjects, the confederate Catholics n his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, at leaſt in private.

That, upon the conſideration thereof, Col. Fitzwilliam humbly propounds, and undergoeth, (with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan, now employed agent for the ſaid confederate Catholics in France), to bring an army of ten thouſand men, and more, of his Majeſty's ſubjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his Majeſty's ſervice, into England.

That Col. Fitzwilliam undertakes, for the ſum of ten thouſand pound Sterl. to levy, ſhip, and arm the ſaid ten thouſand men; and ſo proportionably for more or leſs; and that the ſaid money may be put into ſuch hands as may be ſafe for his Majeſty, as well as ready for the Colonel, when it ſhall appear the ſaid army ſhall be in a readineſs to be tranſported into England.

That, upon the landing the ſaid men, there ſhall be advanced to the Colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muſter, for the preſent ſupport of the army.

That Col. Fitzwilliam may be Commander in chief thereof, and diſpoſe of all the offices, and only be commanded by his Majeſty, his Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and Prince Rupert; and qualified with ſuch commiſſions as hath been formerly granted to his Majeſty's Generals that have commanded bodies apart from his Majeſty's own army, as the Marquis of Newcaſtle, the Earl of Kingſton, and others; hereby the better to enable him in the levies, as well as in the general conduct of the buſineſs; and that in reſpect the parliament gives no quarter to his Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects, therefore that the ſaid forces ſhall not by any order whatſoever be divided.

That the Colonel may be ſupplied with a body of horſe, of at leaſt two thouſand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the Colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requiſite for himſelf to provide neceſſary proportions to bring with him.

That the army ſhall be paid as other armies of his Majeſty.

Having taken theſe propoſitions into conſideration, we have thought fit to teſtify our approbation and agreement thereunto, under our ſign-manual; aſſuring what hath been deſired of us therein, ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavoured; and not doubting to the ſatisfaction of the confederate Catholics of his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the ſaid Col. Fitzwilliam: ſo that we may juſtly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in theſe ſeveral concernments.

This is a true copy of the original ſent by her Majeſty to the King, May 16. 1645.

A. Lowly, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lord Jermine.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXII.

To my wife, 14 Jan. $164\frac{4}{5}$. By Choquen.

Dear Heart,

POoly came the $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan.; to whoſe great diſpatch though for ſome days I cannot give a full anſwer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to ſomething in thy letter, not without relating to ſomething of his diſcourſe.

As I confeſs it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftener from me, ſo excuſe me to deny that it can be of ſo ill conſequence as thou mentions, if their affections were ſo real as they make ſhew of to thee; for the difficulty of ſending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will ſhew my diligence; and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of ſending; wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine, that it can enter into the thought of any fleſh living, that any body here ſhould hide from thee what is deſired that every one ſhould know, (excuſe me to ſay it), is ſuch a folly, that I ſhall not believe that any can think it, though he ſay it. And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miſcarrying of a letter or two that will call it in queſtion. But take heed, that theſe diſcourſes be not rather the effect of their wearineſs of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts. And of this is not the propoſal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty inſtance? For ſeriouſly, of itſelf, I hold it one of the moſt extravagant propoſitions that I have heard; thy giving ear to it being moſt aſſuredly only to expreſs thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs. As for the buſineſs itſelf, (I mean the peace of Ireland); to ſhew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have ſent thee the laſt diſpatches I have ſent concerning it, earneſtly deſiring thee to keep them to thyſelf. Only thou mayſt in general let the Q. Regent and miniſters there underſtand, that I have offered my Iriſh ſubjects ſo good ſatisfaction that a peace will ſhortly enſue; which I really believe. But, for God's ſake, let none know the particulars of my diſpatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholden to the Portugal agent, (and little to the French); it being by his means that I have ſent thee all my letters (beſides expreſſes) ſince I came hither, though I expected moſt from Sabran.

"I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news; "Digby's diſpatch, which I have ſeen, being ſo full "that I can add nothing. Yet I cannot but paraphraſe "a little upon that which he calls his ſuperſtitious ob-"ſervation. It is this; nothing can be more evident, "than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one

“ of the great cauſes of God's juſt judgments upon
“ this nation, by a furious civil war; both ſides hi-
“ therto being almoſt equally puniſhed, as being in a
“ manner equally guilty. But now this laſt crying
“ blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no preſum-
“ ption hereafter to hope that his hand of juſtice muſt
“ be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking
“ now upon our cauſe, having paſſed by our faults.”

This is a true copy, examined by

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XXIII.

Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I Thank you for the account you ſent me by this bearer; and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you, that my going to Weſt. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with com. there or thereabouts; and that you mention the ſecurity I aſk with my coming to Weſt. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and Scots. This bearer will tell you how well our weſtern and northern aſſociations go on; to whom I refer you for other things.—I reſt.

This is a true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXIV.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. FOR religion and church-government, I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And ſo for the militia, more than what ye have allowed by me. But even in that you muſt obſerve, that I muſt have free nomination of the full half; as, if the total number, Scots and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen: yet, if they (I mean the Engliſh rebels) will be ſo baſe as to admit of ten Scots to twenty Engliſh, I am contented to name five Scots and ten Engliſh; and ſo proportionably to any number that ſhall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular perſons; beſides ſecurity, I give you power to promiſe them rewards for performed ſervices; not ſparing to engage for places, ſo they be not of great truſt, or be taken away from honeſt men in poſſeſſion, but as much profit as you will. With this laſt you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

This is a true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXV.

Directions for my Uxbridge commiſſioners.

Firſt, concerning religion.

IN this the government of the church (as I ſuppoſe) will be the chief queſtion; wherein two things are to be conſidered, conſcience and policy. For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the government by Biſhops: not only as I fully concur with the moſt general opinion of Chriſtians in all ages, as being the beſt; but likewiſe I hold myſelf particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it; it being without peradventure ſacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my coronation-oath. But whatſoever ſhall be offered for rectifying of abuſes, if any have crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender conſciences, (ſo that it endamage not the foundation), I am content to hear; and will be ready to give a gracious anſwer thereunto. For the ſecond; as the King's duty is, to protect the church; ſo it is the church's, to aſſiſt the King in the maintenance of his juſt authority: wherefore my predeceſſors have been always careful (and eſpecially ſince the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown; without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the King's head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency.

Next, concerning the militia.

After conſcience, this is certainly the fitteſt ſubject for a King's quarrel: for without it the kingly power is but a ſhadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land. Yet, becauſe to attain to this ſo much wiſhed peace by all good men, it is in a manner neceſſary, that ſufficient and real ſecurity be given for the performance of what ſhall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving ſtrong towns or other military force in the rebels poſſeſſion, (until articles be performed), to give ſuch aſſurance for performance of conditions as you ſhall judge neceſſary for to conclude a peace; provided always that ye take (at leaſt) as great care by ſufficient ſecurity, that conditions be performed to me; *and to make ſure that, the peace once ſettled, all things ſhould return into their ancient channels.*

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I confeſs, they have very ſpecious popular arguments to preſs this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this. And I have as much reaſon, both in honour and policy, to take care how to anſwer this as any. All the world knows the eminent inevitable neceſſity which cauſed me to make

ake the Iriſh ceſſation, and there remains yet as rong reaſon for the concluding of that peace; where-ore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder me therein, ntil a clear way be ſhown me how my Proteſtant ubjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend them-elves; and that I ſhall have no more need to defend y conſcience and crown, from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXVI.

At Uxbridge, on Wedneſday the 29th of January 1644, the proteſtation under written was unanimouſly conſented unto, and taken by all his Majeſty's commiſſioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I A. B. being one of the commiſſioners aſſigned by his Majeſty for this preſent treaty at Uxbridge, do proteſt and promiſe in the ſight of almighty God, that I will not diſcloſe nor reveal unto any perſon or perſons whatſoever, who is not a commiſſioner, any matter or thing that ſhall be ſpoken of during the treaty, by any one or more of his Majeſty's commiſſioners, in any private debate among ourſelves concerning the ſaid treaty, ſo as to name or deſcribe, directly or indirectly, the perſon or perſons that ſhall ſpeak any ſuch matter or thing, unleſs it be by the conſent of all the ſaid commiſſioners that ſhall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the ſaid commiſſioners agreed, That this ſhall not bind where any ten of the commiſſioners ſhall agree to certify his Majeſty the number of aſſenters or diſſenters, upon any particular reſult in this treaty, not naming or deſcribing the perſons.

This is a true copy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

XXVII.

The Queen to the King from York, March 30. 1644. *alſo April.*

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, that the propoſitions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution. Therefore find ſome means to ſend them back, which may not diſcontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmondeley is come with a troop of horſe to kiſs my hands. The reſt of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ſhip laden with arms, which the ſhips of the parliament had taken and brought thither, ſo ſhe is ours. The rebels have quitted Tadcaſter upon our ſending forces to Whetherby; but they are returned with twelve hundred men. We ſend more forces to drive them out, though thoſe we have already at Whetherby are ſufficient; but we fear leſt they have all their forces thereabout, and leſt they have ſome deſign; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the laſt of which they have burnt. Between this and to-morrow night, we ſhall know the iſſue of this buſineſs; and I will ſend you an expreſs. I am more careful to advertiſe you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have paſſports to ſend; and I wonder, that upon the ceſſation you have not demanded that you might ſend in ſafety. This ſhews my love. I underſtand to-day from London, that they will have no ceſſation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two firſt articles, which is of the forts, ſhips and ammunition, and afterwards of the diſbanding of the army. Certainly, I wiſh a peace more than any, and that with greater reaſon: but I would the diſbanding of the perpetual parliament firſt, and certainly the reſt will be eaſy afterwards. I do not ſay this of my own head alone; for generally both thoſe who are for you and againſt you in this country, wiſh an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the firſt, in caſe it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkſhire, which is a thing to conſider of. And for my particular, if you make a peace, and diſband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to go into France; not being willing to fall again into the hands of thoſe people, being well aſſured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters; and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the leaſt diſſemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu. The man haſtens me, ſo that I can ſay no more.

York, this 30th of March.

XXVIII.

THis letter ſhould have gone by a man of Mr. Denedſdale, who is gone; and all the beginning of this letter was upon this ſubject; and therefore by this man it ſignifies nothing, but the end was ſo pleaſing, that I do not forbear to ſend it to you. You now know by Elliot, the iſſue of the buſineſs of Tadcaſter. Since we had almoſt loſt Scarborough. Whilſt Cholmondeley was here, Browne Buſhell would have rendered it up to the parliament: but Cholmondeley having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it; and hath deſired to have a Lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we ſhould take his. He hath alſo taken two pinaces from Hotham, which brought 44 men to put within Scarborough, 10 pieces of cannon, 4 barrels of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news. Our army marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's Excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you ſince Parſons.

A true copy,

30 March, 3 April. P. W.

XXIX.

XXIX.

The Queen to the King from Bath. April 21. 1644.

My Dear Heart,

FRed. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Adburie, and the ſtate of my health. Since my coming hither, I find myſelf ſo ill, as well in the ill reſt that I have, as in the increaſe of my rheum.

I hope that this day's reſt will do me good. I go tomorrow to Briſtol, to ſend you back the carts; many of them are already returned. My Lord Dillon told me, *not directly from you, though he ſays you approve it, That it was fit I ſhould write a letter to the commiſſioners of Ireland to this effect, That they ought to deſiſt from thoſe things for the preſent, which they had put in their paper; and to aſſure them, that when you ſhall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.*

I thought it to be a matter of ſo great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command. Therefore, if it pleaſe you that I ſhould do ſo, ſend me what you would have me write; that I may not do more than what you appoint; and alſo, that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promiſe: for I ſhould be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to; and when you have promiſed it me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to my Lord Muſkerry without the reſt, will be enough; for the letter which I ſhall write to him, ſhall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your commiſſioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary. Farewel, my Dear Heart. I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely

Your's.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXX.

The Queen to the King from Paris. Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

Paris, January.

I Have received one of your letters, dated from Marlborough, of an old date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made anſwer. I will ſay nothing concerning this; but only concerning the affair of (Gor.) if it be not done, it is time, being very ſeaſonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I underſtand that the commiſſioners are arrived at London: I have nothing to ſay, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall out otherwiſe, *that you do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, for fear they do forſake you in your need.* Alſo I do not ſee how you can be in ſafety without a regiment of guard: for myſelf, I think I cannot be, *ſeeing the malice which they have againſt me, and my religion; of which I hope you will have a care of both.* But, in my opinion, religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon which you ſhould treat; *for if you do agree upon ſtrictneſs againſt the Catholics, it would diſcourage them to ſerve you: and if afterwards there ſhould be no peace, you could never expect ſuccours either from Ireland, or any other Catholic prince; for they would believe you would abandon them after you have ſerved yourſelf.* I have diſpatched an expreſs into Scotland to Montroſe, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I ſend to Mr de Lorrain, and into Holland; I loſe no time. If I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

My wiſe, $\frac{16}{26}$ Decem. Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

XXXI.

The Queen to the King. Paris, Jan. 27. 164$\frac{4}{5}$. *alſo March* 13.

Paris, Jan. $\frac{17}{27}$.

My Dear Heart,

TOM. Elliot two days ſince hath brought me much joy and ſorrow: the firſt, to know the good eſtate in which you are; the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of thoſe who gave you this counſel, unleſs it be to hazard your perſon to ſave theirs: but thanks be to God, to-day I received one of your's by the Ambaſſador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much, to ſee that the treaty ſhall be at Uxbridge. For the honour of God, truſt not yourſelf in the hands of theſe people. And if you ever go to London before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are loſt. *I underſtand that the propoſitions for the peace muſt begin by diſbanding the army. If you conſent to this, you ſhall be loſt:* they having the whole power of the *militia*, they have done, and will do whatſoever they will. *I received yeſterday letters from the Duke of Lorrain, who ſends me word, if his ſervice be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thouſand men.* Dr Goffe, whom I have ſent into Holland, ſhall treat with him in his paſſage upon this buſineſs; and I hope very ſpeedily to ſend good news of this, as alſo of the money. Aſſure yourſelf I will be wanting in nothing you ſhall deſire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to ſend to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters; for I write both by the Ambaſſador of Portugal and the Reſident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, as well the Biſhops as the poor Catholics. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make uſe of another to write, not being able to do it yet myſelf in cyphers. Shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reaſon why I write not to him. I know not how to ſend great packets.

A true copy,

Zouch Tate.

My wife, $\frac{27}{17}$ Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

XXXII.

Paris, this 13th of March.

My Dear Heart,

SInce my laſt, I have received one of your letters marked 16. by which you ſignify the receipt of my letters by Pooly; which hath a little ſurpriſed me, ſeeming to me that you write as if I had in my letter ſomething which had diſpleaſed you. If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was neceſſary you ſhould know all. There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myſelf your diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any, only to Lord Jermyn to uncypher them; my head not ſuffering me to do it myſelf: but if it pleaſe you, I will do it, and none in the world ſhall ſee them. Be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to ſear, which without you I could not do, but your ſervice ſurmounts all. Farewel, my dear heart; behold the mark which you deſire to have, to know when I deſire any thing in earneſt +; and I pray begin to remember what I ſpake to you concerning Jack Barclay for Maſter of the Wards. I am not engaged, nor will not be, for the places of Lord Percy and others; do you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

XXXIII.

XXXIII.

Newark, the 27 of June.

My Dear Heart,

I Received juſt now your letter by my Lord Savile; who found me ready to go away, ſtaying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days ſtop. It is, to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in priſon by order of parliament, is eſcaped, and hath ſent to 260 that he would caſt himſelf into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln ſhould be rendered. He is gone to his father, and 260 writes for your anſwer; ſo that I think I ſhall go hence Friday or Saturday, and ſhall go lie at Werton, and from thence to Aſhby; where we will reſolve what way to take; and I will ſtay there a day, becauſe that the march of the day before will have been ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the enemy marches. All their forces of Nottingham at preſent are gone to Leiceſter and Derby; which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our paſſage; aſſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend you word. At this preſent I think it fit to let you know the ſtate in which we march, and what I leave behind me, for the ſafety of Lincolnſhire and Nottinghamſhire. I leave 2000 foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 companies of horſe, all this to be under Charles Cavendiſh, whom the Gentlemen of the country have deſired me not to carry with me; againſt his will, for he deſired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me 3000 foot, 30 companies of horſe and dragoons, 6 pieces of cannon, and 2 mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as Colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Leſly the foot under him, and Gerard the horſe, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her She-Majeſty Generaliſſima, and extremely diligent, with 150 waggons of baggage to govern, in caſe of battle. Have a care that no troop of Eſſex his army incommodate us: for I hope that for the reſt we ſhall be ſtrong enough; for at Nottingham we had the experience; one of our troops having beaten ſix of theirs, ind made them fly. I have received your proclamation, or declaration; which I wiſh had not been made, being xtremely diſadvantageous for you; for you ſhew too nuch fear, and do not what you had reſolved upon. Farewel, my dear heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 June 1643.

XXXIV.

Inſtructions to ———, ſent to the court of France the 12th of July 1626.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown both to the French King and his mother, what unkindneſſes and diſtaſtes have fallen between my wife and me; which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knows), ever expecting and hoping an amendment; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counſels of her ſervants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination. For, at my firſt meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more teſtimonies of reſpect and love than ſhe ſhewed: As to give one inſtance, her firſt ſuit to me was, That ſhe being young, and coming to a ſtrange country, both by her years, and ignorance of the cuſtoms of the place, might commit many errors; therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had, with my inſtructions, learned her to eſchew them; and deſired me, in theſe caſes, to uſe no third perſon, but to tell her myſelf when I found ſhe did any thing amiſs. I both granted her requeſt, and thanked her for it; but deſired that ſhe would uſe me as ſhe had deſired me to uſe her; which ſhe willingly promiſed me. Which promiſe ſhe never kept. For a little after this, Madam St George taking a diſtaſte, becauſe I would not let her ride with us in the coach when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a ſtrange thing), ſet my wife in ſuch an humour of diſtaſte againſt me, as that, from that very hour to this, no man can ſay, that ever ſhe uſed me two days together with ſo much reſpect as I deſerved of her; but, by the contrary, has put ſo many diſreſpects on me, as it were too long to ſet down all. Some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her firſt coming to Hampton-court, I ſent ſome of my council to her, with thoſe orders that were kept in the Queen my mother's houſe; deſiring ſhe would command the Count of Tilliers, that the ſame might be kept in her's. Her anſwer was, ſhe hoped that I would give her leave to order her houſe as ſhe liſt herſelf. Now, if ſhe had ſaid that ſhe would ſpeak with me, not doubting to give me ſatisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatſoever ſhe would have ſaid of this to myſelf; for I could only impute it to ignorance: but I could not imagine that ſhe ſhould affront me ſo as to refuſe me in ſuch a thing publicly. After I heard this anſwer, I took a time (when I thought we had both beſt leiſure to diſpute it) to tell her calmly, both her fault in the public denial, and her miſtaking of the buſineſs itſelf. She, inſtead of acknowledging her fault and miſtaking, gave me ſo ill an anſwer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that diſcourſe, having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to ſet down; as, her eſchewing to be in my company; (when I have any thing to ſpeak to her, I *muſt* manage her ſervants firſt, elſe I am ſure to be denied); her neglect of the Engliſh tongue, and of the nation in general. I will alſo omit the affront ſhe did me, before my going to this laſt unhappy aſſembly of parliament, becauſe there has been talk enough of that already, *&c.* The author of it is before you in France. To be ſhort, omitting all other paſſages, coming only to that which is moſt recent in memory; I having made a commiſſion to make my wife's jointure, *&c.* to aſſign her thoſe lands ſhe is to live on; and it being brought to ſuch a ripeneſs that it wanted but my conſent to the particulars they had choſen; ſhe taking notice, that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, *one night* when I was a bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a liſt of thoſe that ſhe deſired to be of her revenue. I took it, and ſaid I would read it next morning; but withal told her, that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She ſaid there were both Engliſh and French in the note. I replied, that thoſe Engliſh I thought fit to ſerve her, I would confirm; but for the French, it was impoſſible for them to ſerve her in that nature. Then ſhe ſaid, all thoſe in the paper had breviates from her mother, and herſelf; and that ſhe could admit no other. Then I ſaid, it was neither in her mother's power, nor her's, to admit any without my leave; and that, if ſhe ſtood upon that, whomſoever ſhe recommended ſhould not come in. Then ſhe bade me plainly take my lands to myſelf; for if ſhe had no power to put in whom ſhe would in thoſe places, ſhe would have neither lands nor houſe of me; but bade me give her what I thought fit in penſion. I bade her then remember to whom ſhe ſpake; and told her, that ſhe ought not to uſe me ſo. Then ſhe fell into a paſſionate diſcourſe, how ſhe is miſerable, in having no power to place ſervants; and that buſineſſes ſucceeded the worſe for her recommendation; which when I offered to anſwer, ſhe would not ſo much as hear me. Then ſhe went on, ſaying, ſhe was not of that baſe quality, to be uſed ſo ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that diſcourſe. Thus having had ſo long patience, with the diſturbance of that that ſhould be one of my greateſt contentments, I can no longer ſuffer thoſe that I know to be the cauſe and fomenters of theſe humours, to be about my wife any longer: which I muſt do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do; which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray; which action can have no greater invective made againſt it, than the relation. Therefore you ſhall tell my brother the French King, as likewiſe his mother, that this being an action of ſo much neceſſity, I doubt not but he will be ſatisfied with it; eſpecially ſince he hath done the like himſelf, not ſtaying while he had ſo much reaſon. And being an action that ſome may interpret of harſhneſs to his nation,

tion, I thought good to give him an account of it, becauſe that in all things I would preſerve the good correſpondency and brotherly affection that is between us.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXXV.

Oxford, Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

Dear Heart,

I Receive it as a good augury thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30th Decemb. which I cannot ſtay to decypher, for not loſing this opportunity; it likewiſe being a juſt excuſe for this ſhort account. This day I have diſpatched Digby's Secretary, fully relating the ſtate of our affairs; therefore I ſhall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, without any of thoſe diſadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence; and that the diſtractions of London were never ſo great, or ſo likely to bring good effect, as now; laſtly, that aſſiſtance was never more needful, never ſo likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, 1 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

XXXVI.

Oxford, Thurſday 24 April.

Harry,

LEſt my wife ſhould not yet be fit for any buſineſs, I write this to you; not to excuſe my pains, but eaſe her's; and that ſhe may know, but not be troubled with my kindneſs, I refer to your diſcretion, how far to impart my letter to her, or any other buſineſs; that ſo her health, in the firſt place, be cared for, then my affairs. And now I muſt tell you, that undoubtedly, if you had not truſted to Digby's ſanguine complexion, (not to be rebated from ſending good news), you would not have found fault with him for ſending miſtaken intelligence; for if he ſhould ſtrictly tie himſelf to certain truths in this kind, you muſt have nothing from him but by proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houſes. But tell me, can you not diſtinguiſh between what we ſend you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of diſtinction? And are you obliged to publiſh all the news we ſend you? Seriouſly, I think news may be ſometimes too good to be told in the French court. And certainly there is as much dexterity in publiſhing of news, as in matters which at firſt ſight may ſeem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all aſſiſtance beſtowed upon me were in vain, ſo I would not have them believe that I needed no help, leſt they ſhould under-hand aſſiſt any rebels, to keep the balance of diſſenſion among us equal.

For matter of news, and preſent ſtate of my affairs, I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it ſhall pleaſe God to aſſiſt us this year but half ſo miraculouſly as he did the laſt, (my preſent ſtate compared with what it was this time twelvemonth), I am very hopeful to ſee a joyful harveſt before next winter: nor do I think this in any human probability poſſible, except my wife can procure me conſiderable aſſiſtance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reaſon to deſpair, your laſt giving me good hope concerning Lorrain. And though I ſay not that for the other I have ſo good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in her's the 10th of March, ſays, *J'ay une affaire aſſure qui vous donnera* 40,000 *piſtoles, que je vous euſſe envoye, ſi j'euſſe en mon navire revenu avec l'eſtain.*

In the laſt place, I will impoſe that upon you that is not reaſonable to expect from my wife; which is, to

give

give me a continual account what letters ſhe receiv from me, and what miſcarries or comes ſlowly: t which end, take notice, that all my letters to her a numerarily marked on the top, as this is with 37. an likewiſe I now begin the ſame with you. So farewe

In your next let me know particularly how my wi is; which though it be not as I would have it, yet t perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine h worſe than ſhe is; if well, then every word will plea me. I have commanded Digby to write to you free concerning Will. Murray, which I hold to be neceſſa ry as concerning Montroſe's buſineſs.

To the Lord Jermyn, 24 Apr. 1645, concerning Franc

This is a true copy,

ZOUCH TAT

XXXVII.

Dear Heart,

SInce my laſt by Choquen I have had no means o writing, and as little new matter. That *which* i now, is the progreſs of the treaty; of which theſe in cloſed papers will give thee a full account. But if tho have them ſooner from London than me, thou haſt n reaſon to wonder, conſidering the length and unce tainty of the way I am forced to ſend by, in *reſpect* o the other. For the buſineſs itſelf, I believe thou wi approve of my choice of treaters: and for my propo ſitions, they differ nothing in ſubſtance (very little i words) from thoſe which were laſt; wherefore I need t ſay nothing of them: and for my inſtructions, *they ar* not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them Now, upon the whole matter, I deſire thee to ſhow th Queen and miniſters there, the improbability that this preſent treaty ſhould produce a peace, conſidering the great ſtrange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propoſitions and mine; and that I cannot alter mine; nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force; which a

little

ittle aſſiſtance, by thy means, will ſoon make them : or I am confident, if ever I could put them to a de-enſive, (which a reaſonable ſum of money would do), hey would be eaſily brought to reaſon. Concerning ur *interferings here at Oxford*, I deſire thee to ſuſpend hy judgment (for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee) until I ſhall ſend ſome whom I may ruſt by word of mouth ; it being too much trouble to s both to ſet them down in paper.

Copy to my wife, 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy, examined by

MILES CORBET.

XXXVIII.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of ignorance: for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the ſtorm, before I had certain aſſurance of thy happy eſcape ; we having had a pleaſing falſe report of thy ſafe landing at Newcaſtle ; which thine of the 19 Jan. ſo confirmed us in, that we at leaſt were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou haſt paſſed: of which I ſhall not be out of apprehenſion, until I may have the happineſs of thy company ; for indeed I think it not the leaſt of my misfortunes, that for my ſake thou haſt run ſo much hazard ; in which thou haſt expreſſed ſo much love to me, that I confeſs it is impoſſible to repay by any thing I can do, much leſs by words : but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient paſſion of gratitude to thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23 Feb. has bred great diſcourſe in ſeveral perſons, and of ſeveral kinds : As, my ſaying I was perſecuted for places, is applied to all, and not only thoſe that I there name to be ſuitors : whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as ſome there mentioned; for I confeſs 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault as too much kindneſs to thee; (thou may eaſily vote from what conſtellation that comes); but I aſſure ſuch, that I want expreſſion, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occaſions. Others preſs me as being brought upon the ſtage: but I anſwer, that having profeſſed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty, (leaving the particulars to this incloſed), I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it; for all the ſoldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done: but expect no ceſſation of arms; for the lower houſe will have none without a diſbanding, and I will not diſband till all be agreed. Laſtly, for our military affairs, I thank God, that here and in the weſt they proſper well. As for the north, I refer thee to 280. 140. information. So, daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, *&c.*

Copy to my wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643.

A true copy,

ZOUCH TATE.

XXXIX.

Inſtructions to Colonel Cockran, to be purſued in his negotiation to the King of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the King of Denmark, that by his Majeſty's command, as to the neareſt ally of his crown, his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in intereſt as affection, you are ſent to give a particular account of the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs; to renew the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms, and families-royal; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, ſuch as might be uſeful to the preſent affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of thoſe of Denmark.

That the preſent affair of your negotiation is, to demand an aſſiſtance from his Majeſty, ſuch a one as the preſent ſtate of the affairs of England requires, againſt a dangerous combination of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who have not only invaded his Majeſty in his particular rights, but have laid a deſign to diſſolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion; becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Chriſtendom, if attended with ſucceſs in their deſign.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be intereſſed in ſuppreſſing their deſign, without giving them advantage of ſcandaling his Majeſty's intentions, and drawing away univerſally the hearts of his people, whom they had inſinuated, under pretence of reformation of particular abuſes of government, and miniſters of eſtate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous conſequence and deſign were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent compliance was neceſſary, leſt any public oppoſition on his Majeſty's part, that might ſeem to defeat the great expectations which they had raiſed in the commons in thoſe plauſible particulars, might have occaſioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms; great jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented among them of his Majeſty's foreign treaties, and force to be uſed to oppoſe and ſuppreſs thoſe their deſires, and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the people's opinions, they proceeded, under pretence of reformation of religion, to diſſolve the government of the church, according to its conſtitution in England; a chief column and ſupport to that monarchy and crown.

They laſtly invaded his Majeſty in all the prerogatives of his crown; and, under pretence of ill miniſters and counſellors of eſtate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves, in all times for the future, the domination of all miniſtries of eſtate, and of his Majeſty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands; and, to confirm themſelves in an abſolute power of diſpoſing his eſtate, entered upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy and magazines: in which his Majeſty being forced to appear in oppoſition, dangerous tumults were raiſed againſt him; ſo that he was forced to forſake London, for preſervation of his perſon, his Queen and children.

That ſince, for the ſafety of the Queen, he hath been forced to ſend her into Holland, and to retire himſelf to the beſt-affected party of his ſubjects; from whence, by declarations ſetting forth the ſiniſter preceedings of that faction, diſcovering their deſigns of innovating the government, and falſifying the ſcandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him univerſally the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction, ſtill keeping up ſome intereſt and credit with the commons, in the deſperate eſtate they find themſelves, begin to make head againſt him; have appointed a General, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hoſtility, violence, and rebellion.

That his Majeſty, having great encouragements given him, by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that reſort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 horſe and 10,000 foot.

That the States of Holland have condeſcended to give her Majeſty the Queen, a convoy of the greateſt part of their fleet now at ſea, for her return into England.

That divers forts and counties, upon his Majeſty's perſonal appearance, have declared for him; ſo that his affairs at home grow daily into a better eſtate; as he likewiſe expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies, will not look upon ſo dangerous a precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to ſuppreſs this ſo pernicious a deſign begun within his kingdom.

That to give his (Daniſh) Majeſty the juſter ground to reflect upon the dangerous conſequences, in relation to his own intereſt, of their ſucceſs, it hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons houſe long ſince, to interpoſe in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to ſet out a fleet to take away his cuſtoms of the Sound.

That they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty, as a ground to ſcandal him with his people, That he did negotiate the introducing, by his uncle the King of Denmark, a foreign power to ſettle his affairs; and under that pretext have given a large commiſſion and particular inſtructions to the fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and intercept all ſuch Daniſh ſhips as they ſhould meet, and to fight with, ſink or deſtroy, all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them, not permitting the ſame, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade, driven commonly in this kingdom in their own bottoms: and that they did prepare force againſt others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the Weſt Indies, and put in by ſtreſs of weather in the weſt of England.

That, in purſuance of their great deſign of extirpating the Royal blood and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great blemiſh upon his Royal family; endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his ſiſter, at once to cut off the intereſt and pretenſions of the whole race: which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous deſign they have purſued, examining witneſſes, and conferring circumſtances and times, to colour their pretenſions in ſo great a fault; and which as his Sacred Majeſty of England, in the true ſenſe of honour of his mother, doth abhor, and will puniſh; ſo he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a ſiſter of ſo happy memory, and by whom ſo near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majeſty doth deſire his aſſiſtance, are, in the loan and raiſing of men, money, arms and ſhips, all, or ſuch of them as may conſiſt beſt with the convenience of his own affairs; and of ſuch in the firſt place as may be moſt requiſite and wanting to his Majeſty.

That to ſet his levies on foot, and put him in a poſture to protect his ſubjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 100,000 l. will be neceſſary for him; which his Majeſty deſires by way of loan. And for the reſtitution of it, beſides his Kingly word and ſolemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented, of ſuch his crown-jewels as are in his diſpoſure, to leave his Royal pledge, if it ſhall be deſired.

The particulars of arms that he deſires, are 6000 muſkets, 1500 horſe-arms, and 20 pieces of field-artillery mounted.

Aſſiſtance of men, he deſires only in horſemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Iſland, or Newcaſtle, are deſigned for the landing of the ſaid horſe, and magazine of the ſaid proviſions; for reception likewiſe and protection of ſuch his ſhips as he ſhall think fit to employ, for the countenance and ſecurity of thoſe his ſubjects that ſhall trade upon theſe coaſts, and for aſcertaining the correſpondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may beſt ſort and agree with his own affairs; and for which the Holy Iſland is conceived one of the apteſt harbours in his Majeſty's dominions, being capable of any ſhips whatſoever, in a very great proportion; an excellent road at the entrance, a ready outlet, and a ſtrong fort under his Majeſty's command.

That in lieu of this aſſiſtance contributed by the King of Denmark, his Majeſty will oblige himſelf, and ratify in expreſs articles, to reſtore into the magazines of Denmark, a like proportion of arms and ammunition; to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of horſe; and ſo ſoon as his affairs ſhall be ſettled, and himſelf in a condition to do it, upon all occaſions, to contribute the aſſiſtance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the cuſtoms of the Sound againſt all perſons whatſoever; to ratify the treaty that was made laſt by Sir Thomas Rowe; and to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt inteſtine rebellions. In purſuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be ſeverally perfected, his Majeſty doth expect this firſt ſupply of monies and arms; preſent affairs not admitting a delay in the ſame.

That in caſe the King of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be ſent to him, or delivered to his agent there; who may have order to pay the money here; or any other jewels.

That there have been in diſcourſes ſeveral propoſitions of accommodation made by them to the King; to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reaſon could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have ſtill riſen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majeſty doth underſtand, that a perſon is addreſſed to the King of Denmark from his parliament, to inſinuate miſunderſtandings abroad with his Majeſty's allies, as they have done at home among his people; his Majeſty expects, that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and ſpy upon the treaty and negotiations between their Majeſties; but that he be diſmiſſed and ſent away ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

KIng Charles I. in a printed declaration dated from Newark, March 9. 1641, ſays to the parliament, "*Whatſoever you are advertiſed from Rome, Venice,* "*Paris, of the Pope's nuncio ſoliciting France, Spain,* "&c. *for foreign aids, we are confident no ſober honeſt*

" *man in our kingdom, can believe that we are ſo deſpe-*
" *rate, or ſo ſenſeleſs, to entertain ſuch deſigns, as would*
" *not only bury this our kingdom in certain deſtruction*
" *and ruin, but our name and poſterity in perpetual ſcorn*
" *and infamy.*"

If this paſſage be compared with the preceeding letters and inſtructions, all equitable men may judge, whether the King did not paſs ſentence againſt himſelf, and abſolve the high court of juſtice.

An order ſent to the King's printer, with the proclamation againſt the Iriſh rebels.

IT is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you forthwith print in very good paper, and ſend unto me for his Majeſty's ſervice, forty copies of the proclamation incloſed, leaving convenient ſpace for his Majeſty to ſign above, and to affix the privy ſignet underneath. And his Majeſty's command is, that you print not above the ſaid number of forty copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, till his pleaſure be further ſignified; for which this ſhall be your warrant.

Whitehall, 2 *Jan.* 1641. EDWARD NICHOLAS.

For his Majeſty's printer.

Propoſitions delivered to his Majeſty by the Earl of Straſford, for ſecuring of his Majeſty's eſtate, and bridling of parliaments, and for increaſe of his revenue much more than it is.

TOuching the firſt, having conſidered divers means, I find none ſo important to ſtrengthen your Majeſty's Regal authorities againſt all oppoſitions or practices of troubleſome ſpirits, as to fortify your kingdom, by having a fortreſs in every chief town and important place thereof, furniſhed with ordnance, munition, and faithful men, as they ought to be, with all other circumſtances fit to be digeſted in a buſineſs of this nature.

Ordering withal the trained ſoldiers of the country to be united in one dependency with the ſaid forts, as well to ſecure their beginnings, as to ſecure them in any occaſion of ſuſpect, and keep their arms for more ſecurity; whereby the countries are no leſs to be brought into ſubjection than the cities themſelves, and conſequently the whole kingdom; your Majeſty having, by this courſe, the power thereof in your own hands.

The reaſons of theſe ſuggeſtions.

Firſt, That, in policy, it is a greater tye of the people by force and neceſſity, than merely by love and affection: for by the one the government reſteth always ſecure; but by the other, no longer than the people are well contented.

Secondly, It forceth obſtinate ſubjects to be no more preſumptuous than it pleaſeth your Majeſty to permit them.

Thirdly, That to have a ſtate unfurniſhed, is to give the bridle thereof to the ſubject; when by the contrary it reſteth only in the prince's hand.

Fourthly, That modern fortreſſes take long time in winning, with ſuch charge and difficulty as no ſubjects in theſe times have means probable to attempt them.

Fifthly, That it is a ſure remedy againſt rebellious and popular mutinies, or againſt foreign powers; becauſe they cannot well ſucceed, when by this courſe the apparent means is taken away, to force the King and ſtate upon a doubtful fortune of a ſet battle, as was the cauſe that moved the pretended invaſion againſt the land attempted by the King of Spain, 1588.

Sixthly, That your Majeſty's government is now ſecured by the people's more ſubjection; and by their ſubjection your parliament muſt be forced conſequently to alter their ſtyle, and to be conformable to your will and pleaſure: for their words and oppoſition importeth nothing, where the power is in your Majeſty's own hands, to do with them what you pleaſe; being indeed the chief purpoſe of this diſcourſe, and the ſecret intent thereof, fit to be concealed from any Engliſh at all, either counſellor of ſtate or others.

For theſe and other weighty reaſons, it may be conſidered in this place, to make your Majeſty more powerful and ſtrong, ſome orders be obſerved, that are uſed in fortified countries, the government thereof importeth as much as the ſtates themſelves, I mean in times of doubt and ſuſpect; which are theſe.

Imprimis, That none wear arms or weapons at all, either in city or country, but ſuch as your Majeſty may think fit to privilege; and they to be inrolled.

Secondly, That as many high-ways as conveniently may be done, may be made paſſable through thoſe cities and towns fortified, to conſtrain the paſſengers to travel through them.

Thirdly, That ſoldiers of fortreſſes be ſometimes choſen of another nation, if ſubjects to the ſame prince; but howſoever not to be born in the ſame province, or within forty miles of the fortreſs; and not to have friends or correſpondency near it.

Fourthly, That at the gates of ſuch walled towns be appointed officers, not to ſuffer any unknown paſſenger to paſs without a ticket, ſhewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth; and that the gates of each city be ſhut at night, and the keys be kept by the Mayor or Governor. Alſo that the inn-keepers do deliver the names of all unknown paſſengers that lodge in their houſes; and if they ſtay ſuſpiciouſly at any time, to preſent them to the Governor: whereby dangerous perſons ſeeing theſe ſtrict courſes, will be more wary of their actions, and thereby miſchievous attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majeſty's wiſe conſideration, it is meet for me withal to give you ſome ſatisfaction of the charge and time to perform what is propoſed, that you may not be diſcouraged in the difficulty of the one, or prolongation of the other. Both which doubts are reſolved in one and the ſame reaſon; in reſpect that in England each chief town commonly hath a ruinated caſtle, well ſeated for ſtrength; whoſe foundation and ſtones remaining, may be both quickly repaired for this uſe, and with little charge; and made ſtrong enough, I hope, for this purpoſe in the ſpace of one year, by adding withal bulwarks and rampiers, according to the rules of fortification.

The ordnance for theſe forts may be of iron; and not to disfurniſh your Majeſty's navy, or be at a greater charge than is needful to maintain yearly the forts.

I make account, in ordinary pay, three thouſand men will be ſufficient; and will require forty thouſand pounds charge *per annum*, or thereabouts, being an expence that inferior princes undergo for their neceſſary ſafety. All which prevention added to the invincible ſea-forces your Majeſty hath already, and may have, will make you the moſt powerful and obeyed prince of the world; which I could likewiſe confirm by many examples, but I omit them for brevity, and not to confuſe your Majeſty with too much matter. Your gracious Majeſty may find, by the ſcope of this diſcourſe, the means ſhewed in general to bridle your ſubjects, that may either be diſcontented or obſtinate. So likewiſe am I to conclude the ſame intent, particularly againſt the perverſeneſs of your parliament, as well to ſuppreſs that pernicious humour, as to avoid their oppoſitions againſt your profit; being the ſecond part to be diſcourſed on.

And therefore have firſt thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majeſty the purpoſe of a general oath your ſubjects may take, for ſure avoiding of all rubs that may hinder the concluſion of thoſe buſineſſes.

It is further meant, that no ſubject upon pain of high treaſon may refuſe the ſame oath, containing only matter of allegiance, and not ſcruples or points of conſcience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

The effect of the oath is this.

THat all your Majeſty's ſubjects do acknowledge you to be *abſolute King and Monarch* within your dominions, as is among the Chriſtian princes, and your prerogative as great; whereby you may and ſhall of yourſelf, by your Majeſty's proclamation, as well as any other ſovereign princes doing the like, make laws, or reverſe any made; with any other act ſo great a monarch as yourſelf may do; and that without further conſent of parliaments, or need to call them at all in ſuch caſes; confirming, that the parliament in all matters (excepting cauſes to be ſentenced at the high court) ought to be ſubject unto your Majeſty's will, to give the negative or affirmative concluſion; and not to be conſtrained by their impertinences to any inconvenience, appertaining to your Majeſty's Royal authority; and this notwithſtanding any bad pretence or cuſtom to the contrary in practice; which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a prince elected without any other right, than to your Majeſty, born ſucceſſively King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and your heirs for ever; and ſo reſumed, not only of your ſubjects, but alſo of the whole world. How neceſſary the dangerous ſupremacy of parliament-uſurpation is to be prevented, the example of Lewis XI. King of France doth manifeſt; who found the like oppoſition as your Majeſty doth, and by his wiſdom ſuppreſſed it; and that to the purpoſe here intended: which is not to put down altogether parliaments, and their authority, being in many caſes very neceſſary and fit; but to abridge them, ſo far as they ſeek to derogate from your Majeſty's Royal authority, or advancement of your greatneſs.

The caution in offering the aforeſaid oath may require ſome policy, for the eaſier paſſage of it at firſt, either by ſingular or particular tractation; and that ſo near at one time over the land, as one government may not know what the other intendeth, ſo it may paſs the eaſier by having no time of combination or oppoſition.

There is another means alſo more certain than this, to bring to paſs this oath more eaſily; as alſo your profit, and what is pretended; which here I omit for brevity, requiring a long diſcourſe by itſelf; and have ſet it down in particular inſtructions to inform your Majeſty.

The ſecond part of this diſcourſe, is touching your Majeſty's profit, after your ſtate is ſecured: wherein I ſhall obſerve both ſome reaſonable content to the people, as alſo conſider the great expences that princes have now-a-days, more than in times paſt, to maintain their greatneſs, and ſafety of their ſubjects; who if they have not wit or will to conſider their own intereſt, ſo much your Majeſty's wiſdom muſt repair their defects, and force them by compulſion. But I hope there ſhall be no ſuch cauſe in points ſo reaſonable.

To increaſe your Majeſty's revenue, I ſet down divers means for your gracious ſelf to make choice of either, all or part at your pleaſure, and to put it in execution by ſuch degrees and conditions as your great wiſdom ſhall think fit in a buſineſs of this nature.

Imprimis, The firſt courſe or means intended to increaſe your Majeſty's revenues or profit withal, is of greateſt conſequence: and I ſhall call it a *decima*, being ſo termed in Italy, where in ſome parts it is in uſe; importing the tenth part of all ſubjects eſtates, to be paid as a yearly rent to the prince, and as well moneyed men in towns, as landed men in the countries, their value and eſtates eſteemed juſtly as it is to the true value, (though with reaſon), and this paid yearly in money: which courſe applied in England for your Majeſty's ſervice, may ſerve inſtead of ſubſidies, fifteens, and ſuch like; which in this caſe are fit to be releaſed for the ſubjects benefit and content, in recompence of the ſaid *decima*; which will yield your Majeſty more in certainty, than they do caſually, by five hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, at the leaſt.

Item, That when your Majeſty hath gotten money into your hands by ſome courſes to be ſet down, it would be a profitable courſe to increaſe your *intrato*, to buy out all eſtates and leaſes upon your own lands, in ſuch ſort that they be made no loſers; whereby, having your lands free, and renting them out to the true value, as it is moſt in uſe, and not employed as heretofore, at an old rent and ſmall fines, you may rent it out for at leaſt four or five times more money than the old rent comes to; ſo that if your Majeſty's lands be already but threeſcore thouſand pounds *per annum*, by this courſe it will be augmented at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*; and to buy out the tenants eſtates, will come to a ſmall matter by the courſe, to make them no loſers, conſidering the gains they have already made upon the lands: and this is the rather to be done, and the preſent courſe changed, becauſe it hath been a cuſtom merely to cozen the King.

Item, Whereas moſt princes do receive the benefit of ſalt in their own hands, as a matter of great profit, becauſe they receive it at the loweſt price poſſible, and vent it with double gains yearly; the ſame courſe uſed by your Majeſty were worth an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds at leaſt. It is likewiſe in other parts, that all weights and meaſures of the land, either in private houſes, ſhops, or public markets, ſhould be viewed to be juſt, and ſealed once a-year, paying to the prince for it; which in England applied to your Majeſty, with order to pay ſix pence for the ſealing of each ſaid weight or meaſure, would yield near threeſcore thouſand pounds *per annum*.

Item, That all countries pay a *gabella* for tranſportation of cloth, and ſo likewiſe in England; yet in Spain there is an impoſt upon the wools; which is ſo great a benefit and wealth to the ſheep-maſters, as they may well pay you 5 *l. per cent.* of the true value of their ſhearing; which I conceive may be worth 15,000 *l. per annum.*

Item, Whereas the lawyers fees and gains in England be exceſſive, to your Majeſty's ſubjects prejudice; it were to your Majeſty to make uſe thereof, and to impoſe on all cauſes ſentenced with the party, to pay 5 *l. per cent.* of the true value that the cauſe had gained him; and for a recompence thereof, to limit all lawyers fees and gettings; whereby the ſubject ſhall ſave more in fees and charges than he giveth in the *gabella*; which, I believe, may be worth one year with another fifty thouſand pounds.

Item, Whereas the inns and victualling-houſes in England are more chargeable to travellers than in other countries, it were good for your Majeſty to limit them to certain ordinaries, and raiſe beſides a large impoſition, as it is uſed in Tuſcany and other parts; that is, prohibiting all inns and victualling-houſes, but ſuch as ſhall pay it; and to impoſe upon the chief inns and taverns to pay ten pounds a-year to your Majeſty, and the worſt five pounds *per annum*; and all the ale-houſes twenty ſhillings *per annum*, more or leſs as they are in cuſtom of all ſorts. There are ſo many in England, that this impoſt will yield 100,000 *l. per annum* to your Majeſty.

Item, In Tuſcany and other parts there is a *gabella* of all cattle or fleſh, or horſes, ſold in the market, paying three or four pound *per cent.* for what they are ſold for; which, by conjecture, may be worth in England 20,000 *l. per annum;* uſing the like cuſtom upon fiſh and other victuals, bread excepted. And for this cauſe all fleſh, and fiſh, and victuals, to be praiſed and ſold by weight; whereby the ſubject ſaveth more in not being cozened, than the impoſition importeth them.

Item, In Tuſcany is uſed a taxation of 7 *l. per cent.* upon all alienations of lands to the true value; as alſo ſeven pounds *per cent.* upon all dowries or marriage-monies; the like, if it be juſtly uſed in England, were worth at leaſt 100,000 *l. per annum;* with many other taxations upon meal, and upon all merchandize in all towns, as well port-towns, which here I omit, as not fit for England. And, in ſatisfaction to the ſubjects for theſe taxes, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to releaſe them of wardſhips; and to enjoy their eſtates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their profit to be preſerved for their own benefit. And alſo in forfeitures of eſtates by condemnation, your Majeſty may releaſe the ſubject, as not to take the forfeiture of their lands, but their goods, (high treaſon only excepted); and to allow the counſel of lawyers in caſes of life and death, as alſo not to be condemned without two witneſſes; with ſuch like benefits; which import much more their good, than all the taxations named can prejudice them.

Item, That ſome of the former taxations be uſed in

Scotland and Ireland, as may eaſily be brought about by the firſt example thereof uſed in England, may very well be made to increaſe your revenue there, more than it is by 200,000 *l. per ann.*

Item, All offices in the land, great and ſmall, in your Majeſty's grant, may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*. Adding alſo notaries, attornies, and ſuch like, to pay ſome proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majeſty to practiſe, and prohibiting elſe any to practiſe in ſuch places.

Item, I know an aſſured courſe in your Majeſty's navy, which may ſave at leaſt forty thouſand pounds *per annum*; which requiring a whole diſcourſe by itſelf, I omit; only do promiſe you to do it whenſoever you command.

Item, To reduce your Majeſty's houſhold to board-wages, as moſt other princes do, reſerving ſome few tables. This will ſave your Majeſty 60,000 *l. per annum*; and eaſe greatly the ſubjects beſides, both in carriages and proviſion, which is a good reaſon that your Majeſty in honour might do it.

Item, Whereas your Majeſty's laws do command the ſtrict keeping of faſting-days, you may alſo prohibit on thoſe days to eat eggs, cheeſe, or white meats, but ſuch only as are contented to pay 18 *d. per annum*, for their liberty to eat them, and the better ſort 10 *s.* The employment of this may be for the defence of the land, in maintaining the navy, garriſons, and ſuch like; much after the faſhion of a *cruzada* in Spain, as your Majeſty knoweth.

Laſtly, I have a courſe upon Catholics, and very ſafe for your Majeſty, being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you preſently at leaſt 200,000 *l. per annum*; by raiſing a certain value upon their lands, and ſome other impoſitions; which requiring a long diſcourſe by itſelf, I will omit it here, ſetting it down in my inſtructions. It will ſave your Majeſty at the leaſt 10,000 *l. per annum*, to make it pain of death, and confiſcation of goods and lands, for any of the officers to cozen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or elſe they could not be ſo rich; and herein to allow a fourth part benefit to them that ſhall find out the cozenage.

Here is not meant officers of ſtate, as the Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* being officers of the crown. The ſum of all this amounteth to two millions and two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum.* Suppoſe it be but one million and a half, as ſurely your Majeſty may make by the courſes ſet down; yet is more than I promiſed in my letter for your Majeſty's ſervice, beſides ſome ſums of money in preſent by the courſes following.

Imprimis, By the Prince's marriage.

Secondly, To make all the Earls in England *Grandees,* as in Spain, and *Principi,* with ſuch like privileges, and to pay 20,000 *l.* a piece for it.

Thirdly, Alſo, if you make them feodaries of the towns belonging to their Earldoms, if they will for it ———— beſides, as they do to the King of Spain in the kingdom of Naples; and ſo likewiſe Barons to be made Earls and Peers, to pay nineteen thouſand pounds a piece; I think it might yield five hundred thouſand pounds, and oblige them more ſure to your Majeſty.

Fourthly, To make choice of two hundred of the richeſt men in England in eſtate that be not Noblemen, and make them titular, as it is uſed in Naples, and paying for it; that is, a Duke thirty thouſand pounds, a Marquis fifteen thouſand pounds, an Earl ten thouſand pounds, a Baron or Viſcount five thouſand pounds.

It is to be underſtood, that ancient Nobility of Barons and Earls are to preceed theſe as Peers, though theſe be made Marquiſſes or Dukes. This may raiſe a million of pounds, and more to your Majeſty. To make Gentlemen of low quality, and franklins, or rich farmers, Eſquires, to preceed them, would yield your Majeſty alſo a great ſum of money in preſent.

I know another courſe to yield your Majeſty three hundred thouſand pounds in money, which as yet the time ſerveth not to deliver, until your Majeſty be reſolved to proceed in ſome of the former courſes; which till then I omit.

Other courſes alſo that may make preſent money, I ſhall ſtudy for your Majeſty's ſervice; and as I ſhall find them out, acquaint you withal.

Laſtly, To conclude all theſe diſcourſes, by the application of this courſe uſed for your profit, that is not only the means to make you the richeſt King that ever England had, but alſo your ſafety augmented thereby to be moſt ſecure; beſides what is ſhewed in the firſt part of this diſcourſe, I mean by the occaſion of the taxation, and raiſing of monies, your Majeſty ſhall have cauſe and means to employ, in all places of the land, ſo many officers, and miniſters to be obliged to you for their own profit and intereſt, as nothing can be attempted againſt your perſon and Royal ſtate over the land, but ſome of theſe ſhall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Beſides, this courſe will repreſs many diſorders and abuſes in the public government, which were hard to be diſcovered by men indifferent.

To prohibit gorgeous and coſtly apparel to be worn but by perſons of good quality, ſhall ſave the Gentry of the kingdom much more money than they ſhall be taxed to pay your Majeſty.

Thus withal I humbly take my leave, and kiſs your gracious hands, deſiring pardon for my errors I may commit herein.

A copy of the commiſſion produced by the Iriſh for juſtification of their rebellion.

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, *&c.* To all our Catholic ſubjects within our kingdom of Ireland, greeting. Know ye, that we, for the ſafeguard and preſervation of our perſon, have been enforced to make our abode and reſidence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long ſeaſon, occaſioned by the obſtinate and diſobedient carriage of our parliament in England againſt us, who have not only preſumed to take upon them the government, and diſpoſing of thoſe princely rights and prerogatives that have juſtly deſcended upon us from our predeceſſors, both Kings and Queens of the ſaid kingdom for many hundred years paſt, but alſo have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole ſtrength of the ſaid kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, and officers, in all parts and places therein, at their own will and pleaſure, without our conſent; whereby we are deprived of our ſovereignty, and left naked without defence. And foraſmuch as we are in ourſelf very ſenſible, that theſe ſtorms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried, by the vehemency of the Puritan party, into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our Regal power and authority there alſo; Know ye therefore, that we, repoſing much care and truſt in your duty and obedience, which we have for many years paſt found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to aſſemble and meet together with all the ſpeed and diligence that a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence doth require, and to adviſe and conſult together by ſufficient and diſcreet numbers, at all times, days, and places, which you ſhall in your judgments hold moſt convenient and material, for the ordering, ſettling, and effecting of this great work, (mentioned and directed unto you in our letters); and to uſe all politic ways and means poſſible to poſſeſs yourſelves (for our uſe and ſervice) of all the forts, caſtles, and places of ſtrength and defence within the ſaid kingdom, (except the places, perſons, and eſtates of our loyal and loving ſubjects the Scots); and alſo to arreſt and ſeize the goods, eſtates, and perſons, of all the Engliſh Proteſtants within the ſaid kingdom to our uſe. And in your care and ſpeedy performance of this our will and pleaſure, we ſhall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance to us, which we ſhall accept, and reward in due time. Witneſs ourſelf, at Edinburgh, the firſt day of October, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

Carolus Princeps, Gregorio PP. XV.

Sanctiſſime Pater,

Beatitudinis veſtræ literas non minore gratitudine & obſervantia accepimus, quam exigat, ex qua novimus exaratas, inſignis beneoolentiæ & pietatis affectus. Atqui illud imprimis gratum fuit, nunquam ſatis laudata majorum exempla inſpicienda nobis a veſtra Sanctitate atque imitanda fuiſſe propoſita; qui licet multoties omnium fortunarum & vitæ ipſius diſcrimen adiverint, quo fidem Chriſtianam latius propagarent, haud tamen alacriori animo in infeſtiſſimos Chriſti hoſtes crucis Chriſti vexilla intulerunt, quam nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quæ tamdiu exulavit pax & unitas, in Chriſtianam rempublicam poſtliminio reducatur. Cum enim diſcordiarum patris malitia inter illos ipſos qui Chriſtianam profitentur religionem tam infelicia ſeminarit diſſidia, hoc vel maxime neceſſarium ducimus ad ſacroſanctam Dei & Salvatoris Chriſti gloriam felicius promovendam. Et non minori nobis honori futurum exiſtimabimus, tritam majorum noſtrorum veſtigiis inſiſtentes viam, in piis ac religioſis ſuſceptis illorum æmulos atque imitatores extitiſſe, quam genus noſtrum ab illis atque originem duxiſſe. Atque ad idem nos iſtud plurimum incitat perſpecta nobis Domini Regis ac patris noſtri voluntas, & quo flagrat deſiderium ad tam ſanctum opus porrigendi manum auxiliatricem; tum qui regium pectus excedit dolor, cum perpendit quam ſævæ exoriantur ſtrages, quam deplorandæ calamitates ex principum Chriſtianorum diſſenſionibus. Judicium vero quod Sanctitas veſtra tulit de noſtro cum domo ac Principe Catholico affinitatem & nuptias contrahendi deſiderio, & charitati veſtræ eſt conſentaneum, nec a ſapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tanto quo ferimur ſtudio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indiſſolubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio religionem proſequeremur. Quare Sanctitas veſtra illud in animum inducat, ea modo nos eſſe ſemperque futuros moderatione, ut quam longiſſime abſfuturi ſimus ab omni opere quod odium teſtari poſſit ullam adverſus religionem Catholicam Romanam; omnes potius captabimus occaſiones, quo, leni benignoque rerum curſu, ſiniſtræ omnes ſuſpiciones e

medio penitus tollantur: ut ſicut omnes unam individuam Trinitatem & unum Chriſtum crucifixum confitemur, in unam fidem unanimiter coaleſcamus: quod ut aſſequamur, labores omnes atque vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vitæ pericula, parvi pendemus. Reliquum eſt, ut quas poſſumus maximas pro literis quas inſignis muneris loco ducimus, gratias agentes, Sanctitati veſtræ omnia proſpera & felicitatem æternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi, 20 *Junii,* 1623.

Prince Charles to Pope Gregory XV.

Moſt Holy Father,

WE have received your Holineſs's letter with no leſs gratitude and reſpect than is due to the ſingular good will and pious affection with which we know it was written. Nothing could be more acceptable to us, than to find the renowned examples of our anceſtors propoſed to us by your Holineſs for our ſtudy and imitation: who though they frequently hazarded both lives and fortunes to propagate the Chriſtian faith, yet never more chearfully carried the enſigns of the croſs againſt the moſt mortal enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, than we will endeavour, to the utmoſt of our power, to reſtore that peace and union which has been ſo long baniſhed from the Chriſtian commonwealth. For ſince the malice of the father of diſcord has ſowed ſuch unhappy diviſions among thoſe who profeſs the Chriſtian religion, we think ſuch endeavours to be abſolutely neceſſary to promote the glory of God, and of Chriſt our Saviour. Nor ſhall we eſteem it leſs honour to tread in the ſame path, and to be their rivals and imitators in pious and religious undertakings, than to derive our deſcent from them. And to this we are very much encouraged by the known inclination of the King our father, who deſires nothing more ardently than to lend a helping hand to ſo pious a work; and feels the greateſt anguiſh of heart, when he conſiders the cruel ſlaughters and deplorable calamities that ariſe from the diſſenſions of Chriſtian princes. The judgment your

Holineſs makes of our deſire to contract an alliance and marriage with a Catholic family and princeſs, is not only agreeable to your charity, but will alſo be found ſuitable to your great wiſdom. For we would not ſo vehemently deſire to enter into ſo cloſe and undiſſolvable an engagement with any mortal creature, whoſe religion we hated. Therefore your Holineſs may reſt aſſured, that our moderation is, and ever ſhall be ſuch, as will preſerve us from any action that may teſtify the leaſt hatred to the Roman Catholic religion; and that, by eaſy and gentle means, we will rather embrace all occaſions of removing thoſe invidious impreſſions and ſuſpicions which are among us: that as we confeſs one individual Trinity, and one Chriſt crucified, ſo we may unanimouſly reunite in one faith; for the attainment of which we ſhall not only employ our vigilant care and utmoſt diligence, but moſt readily hazard our life and kingdoms. It remains only to give your Holineſs our beſt thanks for your letter, which we eſteem a moſt ſingular preſent, and to wiſh your Holineſs all manner of proſperity and eternal happineſs. At Madrid, June 20. 1623.

A letter written by Robert Sidney Earl of Leiceſter, to Algernon Piercy Earl of Northumberland, touching the ſervice of Ireland.

My Lord,

Though I have written thrice to the commiſſioners for the affairs of Ireland ſince my coming from London, to give them account of my ſtay at court, and that I have alſo written ſeveral letters to ſome particular friends, in hope that thereby the truth might be known, and myſelf rightly underſtood; yet, becauſe thoſe letters peradventure may have miſcarried, and leſt I ſhould incur the cenſure of the parliament for negligence or ſlackneſs in that ſervice to which I have been deſigned, I will truly, and as briefly as I can, relate to your Lordſhip how I have behaved myſelf; and, if your Lordſhip pleaſe, you may communicate it to the houſe of Peers, as, in your judgment, nd favour to me, you ſhall think fit; and I hope it will appear, that as I have been very impatient of this delay, ſo I have not wanted diligence in the ſolicitaion of my diſpatch.

When I came to York, I told the King, that I was come thither to receive his Majeſty's commandments and inſtructions for that employment which he had done me the honour to confer upon me; and I did humbly beſeech him, that I might not be ſtaid at court, becauſe the parliament did deſire my ſpeedy repair into Ireland, and that his ſervice, as I conceived, did require it; at leaſt that ſome Governor, if I were not worthy of that charge, ſhould be preſently ſent into that kingdom. The King told me, that he would think of it. But I muſt confeſs I did not find his Majeſty ſo ready to diſpatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beſeech his Majeſty to ſend me away, upon every opportunity that I had of ſpeaking to him; and I think there paſſed not a day that I did not deſire the Secretaries of State, and ſome other perſons about the King, to put his Majeſty in mind of me, and to haſten my diſmiſſion. Divers times I made it my petition to the King, that he would diſpatch me, or declare his intention that he would not let me go at all. The King ſaid, my inſtructions ſhould be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr Secretary Nicholas to do it as ſpeedily as he could. In expectation whereof, I ſtaid about three weeks till the King came from York; at which time his Majeſty appointed me to follow him to Nottingham, promiſing that there I ſhould have my expeditions. I obeyed his Majeſty, and came after him to this town; where I have attended ever ſince, perpetually ſoliciting to be diſpatched; and beſeeching his Majeſty, that I might either go to my employment, or have his leave to retire myſelf to my own houſe and private condition; that if he were unwilling to truſt me in an employment of ſo great importance, I did beſeech him that I might be no burden to his thoughts, and that he would be pleaſed to let me know his reſolution; becauſe I conceived myſelf to be under a heavy cenſure, both of the parliament and of the whole kingdom, whilſt poſſibly they might think it my fault, that I was ſo long abſent from that charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpoſe to tell you every paſſage; but this I proteſt to your Lordſhip, That if it had been to ſave the lives of all my friends and of myſelf, I could not have done more to procure my diſpatch. Nevertheleſs I have not been able to advance it one ſtep; nor have I ſeen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this morning Mr Secretary Nicholas gave me a draught of my inſtructions to peruſe. So I hope, that between this and Monday I ſhall have done that part; and I will do the beſt I can to procure ſome other thing, without which I know not how I ſhall be able to do any acceptable ſervice in that kingdom. Your Lordſhip knows I am a ſervant; and I could not run away if I would, or at leaſt it had been to little purpoſe, though I ſhould have adventured to do ſo indecent and ſo undutiful an action. Therefore I hope it will be believed, that I have not been to blame. Now, with your Lordſhip's leave, I ſhall trouble you with another particular, wherein perhaps I ſuffer in the opinion of thoſe who know not what has paſſed, though I be as innocent as a newborn child; nay, I have oppoſed it as much as I had power to do. The King being informed at York by ſome officious perſons, that certain draught-horſes were provided to be ſent into Ireland, his Majeſty told me, that he muſt needs have them for his own uſe. I did humbly beſeech him not to take them away from his own ſervice in Ireland, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employed; and beſides what I ſaid myſelf, I uſed means by others to ſave the horſes. So that I heard no more of it till I came hither. But then his Majeſty told me again, that he muſt needs have thoſe horſes, and preſſed me to ſend for them. I repreſented to his Majeſty the inconſiderableneſs of thoſe few horſes, and that the parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the horſes were bought with their money for the ſervice of the poor kingdom of Ireland: therefore I did beſeech him not to take them; or howſoever, that he would ſecure me from being an inſtrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his affairs; and that I being truſted by the parliament, could neither do it myſelf, nor conſent that any other ſhould do that which was a breach of truſt, and a great diſſervice even to his Majeſty himſelf. Notwithſtanding this, the King ſent to me by Mr. Endymion Porter and Sir George Hay at ſeveral times to the ſame purpoſe. But I returned the ſame anſwer; adding this alſo, that I could not do it, and be an honeſt man to his ſervice; though it be true that the King ſaid, he would reſtore the horſes, or pay for them. But for all this, it pleaſed his Majeſty to employ one Errington, who ſerved me, and gave him a warrant to fetch the horſes. Errington told me of it; and I forbad him as far as I could to do it; telling him, that if he did, he muſt not look to have any thing to do with me for ever; aud that I made no doubt the parliament would hang him for ſtealing their horſes. This and more I ſaid to Errington in the preſence of James Battiere my Secretary, who will witneſs it: and conceiving it to be an unjuſt thing in itſelf, diſpleaſing to the parliament, and hurtful to the King's ſervice, I proteſted againſt it, though Errington ſaid, that his Majeſty had commanded him upon his allegiance to execute the warrant. But indeed I told him, that I did not believe him; nor could think that his Majeſty would command a ſubject upon his allegiance to take away other mens horſes. This I thought ſufficient. But it ſeems I was deceived: for Errington, without my conſent or knowledge, went from Nottingham towards Cheſter, as I heard afterwards; and I have never ſeen him ſince, nor heard from him. What he hath done, I know not; but I ſent to Cheſter, that the horſes ſhould be preſently ſhipped away; and I cauſed my Secretary to write to Mr Hawkin, to take care, that neither Errington nor any body from him ſhould receive any more money of Mr Loftus or his deputy, to provide the reſt of the horſes; of as yet I think there has been only ſixteen hundred

pounds

pounds iſſued to buy two hundred of the ſix hundred horſes allowed by the parliament; and of that ſixteen hundred pounds I will do the beſt I can to get a good account, whereof the paliament, God willing, ſhall be informed, with my utmoſt care and diligence. Truly, my Lord, I do the beſt I can to ſerve my country. They that are wiſer may do more; but of any thing contrary to the duty of an honeſt man, the parliament, upon ſtrict examination, ſhall never find me guilty. For the reputation of honeſty and fidelity is, and I can ſay no more, as dear to me as your eſteeming me

Your Lordſhip's humble and affectionate ſervant,

Nottingham, Sept.
1642.

R. LEICESTER.

A letter to the Queen, by the Lord George Digby.

Madam,

I Shall not adventure to write to your Majeſty with freedom, but by expreſſes, or till ſuch a time as I have a cypher, which I beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me. At this time therefore I ſhall only let your Majeſty know, that the humbleſt and moſt faithful ſervant you have in the world is here at Middleburg; where I ſhall remain in the privateſt way I can, till I receive inſtructions how to ſerve the King and your Majeſty in theſe parts. If the King betake himſelf to a ſafe place, where he may avow and protect his ſervants, from rage, I mean, and violence; for from juſtice I will never implore it; I ſhall then live in impatience and miſery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late, he ſhall betake himſelf to the eaſieſt and complianteſt ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my abſence than by all my induſtry: and it will be a comfort to me in all calamities, if I cannot ſerve you by my actions, that I may do it in ſome kind by my ſufferings for your ſake; having, I proteſt to God, no meaſure of happineſs or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your Majeſty's value of my affection and fidelity.

Middleburg, 21 Jan.
1641.

Another letter to the Queen, from the Lord George Digby.

Madam,

'TIS the firſt contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majeſty is ſafely arrived in Holland, withdrawn from a country ſo unworthy of you. I ſhould have waited the firſt upon you, both to have rendered my duty according to the precedence of my obligation above others, and to have informed your Majeſty the earlieſt, of the ſtate of this place whither you are coming, both in point of affections and intereſts; but that there fly about ſuch reports, that the parliament hath deſired your Majeſty not to admit me to your preſence, as I dare not preſume into it without particular permiſſion. The ground of their malevolence towards me in this particular is ſaid to be, upon ſome letters which they have preſumed to open, directed to your Majeſty from me; which I profeſs I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majeſty the leaſt word that can be wreſted to an ill ſenſe by my greateſt enemies, having not ſo much as mentioned any buſineſs to your Majeſty ſince I left England. To the King I confeſs I wrote once with that hardineſs which I thought his affairs and complexion required; but that was ſent by ſo ſafe hands, as I cannot apprehend the miſcarriage of it. However, *Madam*, if my misfortune be ſo great, that I muſt be deprived of the ſole comfort of my life, of waiting on your Majeſty, and following your fortunes, I beſeech you let my doom be ſo ſignified to me, as that I may retire with the leaſt ſhame that well may be, to bewail my unhappineſs; which yet will be ſupportable, if I may but be aſſured that inwardly that generous and princely heart preſerves me the place of,

Madam,

Hague, Mar. 10. Your Majeſty's moſt faithful
1642. and moſt affectionate
humble ſervant.

The form of a bill for a new coronation-oath; purſuant to the treaty in the iſle of Wight.

WHereas the ſolemn oaths and ſtipulations of Kings to their people at their inaugurations to their crowns, and the renewing and enlarging of them after civil breaches and wars, have been reputed and found a principal and moſt effectual means to preſerve peace and amity between them and their people, and prevent unjuſt incroachments upon their ſubjects rights, laws, and liberties; and whereas, by reaſon of ſome alterations made without authority of parliament in the oath which his Majeſty took at his coronation, and of the late unhappy differences between him and his houſes of parliament, there is juſt and neceſſary occaſion adminiſtred to alter and enlarge the ancient oath and ſtipulation of the Kings of England to their people, for the better compoſing of the preſent differences, and preventing all future breaches and incroachments upon the laws and liberties of the ſubject, and the introducing and exerciſing of all arbitrary and tyrannical power; be it therefore ordained and enacted by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords and Commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That the King's Majeſty, upon his return to this preſent parliament, and at all other times when both houſes of parliament ſhall require the ſame, and his heirs and ſucceſſors Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronations, and at all times elſe when their parliaments ſhall think fit, ſhall take this enſuing oath before both houſes

ſes of parliament, to be adminiſtred by the Speaker of the Lords houſe for the time being, in form following.

We Charles, King of England, in the name and preſence of the moſt high God, do ſolemnly ſwear, and proteſt to all our ſubjects and liege-people of this our realm of England, That we ſhall and will, to the uttermoſt of our ſkill and power, all the days of our reign over them, inviolably keep, preſerve and maintain the true reformed religion, and confeſſion of faith, therein eſtabliſhed, and all juſt laws, cuſtoms, rights, franchiſes, and liberties heretofore granted to all or any of our ſaid ſubjects and people by our Royal predeceſſors or ourſelf; together with the rights and privileges of parliament; and likewiſe endeavour to preſerve entirely peace and amity between all our ſubjects and people, and cauſe equal juſtice to be adminiſtred to them in mercy and truth, without partiality, affection, or delay.

That we will neither proclaim nor make any open war, foreign or domeſtic, nor raiſe any forces in, nor invite or introduce any foreign power into our ſaid realm, nor conclude any public truce or peace, nor impoſe nor levy any tax, talliage, contribution, aid, or benevolence on our ſaid ſubjects and people; nor embrace nor enhance the current coin of this kingdom; nor alienate any honours, manors, lands, rents, demeſnes, caſtles, forts, jewels, ſhips, or ammunition, belonging to the crown of this our realm; nor diſpoſe of ourſelf, nor of our heir-apparent to the crown, in marriage; nor confer any of the great offices of ſtate or judicature within this our realm; nor create any new Peer or Baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any monopoly againſt law; nor grant any diſpenſation for the breach of any penal ſtatute of this realm whiles in force, without common conſent in parliament.

That we will duly cauſe a parliament to be ſummoned within this our realm once every year, or three years at leaſt, according to the ſtatutes in that behalf provided; and will likewiſe give our Royal aſſent from time to time for altering or repealing all ſuch old laws as ſhall be held prejudicial, and paſſing all ſuch new bills and ſtatutes as ſhall be judged neceſſary and beneficial for our ſaid ſubjects and people by both our houſes of parliament upon mature debate.

And if we ſhall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our ſolemn oath and proteſtation in all or any part of the premiſſes, to the grievance and prejudice of our ſaid ſubjects and people, and ſhall not, upon due information thereof by one or both houſes of parliament, or by thoſe intruſted by them with the militia of this kingdom, or by our great officers and council of ſtate in the intervals of parliament, redreſs the ſame, we do hereby freely and voluntarily proteſt before God and the world, that then and from thenceforth it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid houſes of parliament during their ſeſſion, and for the greateſt part of thoſe intruſted by them with the militia, or for our great officers and council of ſtate in the intervals of parliament, and for all or any of our ſubjects and people by their direction and command, to aſſemble together in arms, and by open force or otherwiſe to redreſs the ſame; and to withſtand and reſiſt us, and to apprehend and ſurpriſe all ſuch perſons and forces as ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting to us therein, without incurring the guilt of treaſon, ſedition, inſurrection, rebellion, breach of allegiance, or any other crime, forfeiture, or penalty; it being done in defence of their juſt rights, laws, and liberties, to which they are obliged by the law of God and nature.

And that all and every perſon or perſons who ſhall be willingly aiding, counſelling or aſſiſting to us in ſuch caſes and breaches of all or any clauſe of this our ſolemn oath, ſhall and may be preſently proceeded againſt in due form of law, and adjudged and executed, as traitors and public enemies to us and this our realm, or otherwiſe puniſhed according to the quality and degree of their offence.

And all this we do cordially and ſincerely ſwear and proteſt, without any equivocation or mental reſervation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly ſeek to be abſolved from this our oath.

So God us help.

Die

Die Lunæ, 1 *Decemb.* 1645.

THE houſe of Commons doth declare, That it ſhall be an acceptable ſervice, for any perſon or perſons to inform this houſe of any member or members of this houſe, that by himſelf, or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any money or other thing of any perſon or perſons, for any matter or thing depending in this houſe, or any committee of this houſe, ſince the beginning of this parliament. And the houſe hath appointed a committee to receive any ſuch informations, who are to ſit in the exchequer-chamber upon Thurſday next in the afternoon, and ſo from time to time. And the members of this houſe are hereby injoined, if any of them know of any ſuch thing ſo taken, in manner as aforeſaid, by any other of the members, that they do repair to the ſaid committee, and inform them of the ſame.

A letter written by command of King Charles the Second, concerning the Marquis of Antrim.

CHARLES R.

RIght truſty and well-beloved couſins and counſellors, *&c.* we greet you well. How far we have been from interpoſing on the behalf of any of our Iriſh ſubjects, who, by their miſcarriages in the late rebellion in that kingdom of Ireland, had made themſelves unworthy of our grace and protection, is notorious to all men; and we were ſo jealous in that particular, that ſhortly after our return into this our kingdom, when the Marquis of Antrim came hither to preſent his duty to us, upon the information we received from thoſe perſons who then attended us by a deputation from our kingdom of Ireland, or from thoſe who at that time owned our authority there, that the Marquis of Antrim had ſo misbehaved himſelf towards us, and our late Royal father of bleſſed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the leaſt countenance from us, and that they had manifeſt and unqueſtionable evidence of ſuch his guilt; whereupon we refuſed to admit the ſaid Marquis ſo much as into our preſence, but on the contrary committed him priſoner to our tower of London; where after he had continued ſeveral months under a ſtrict reſtraint, upon the continued information of the ſaid perſons we ſent him into Ireland, without interpoſing the leaſt on his behalf, but left him to undergo ſuch a trial and puniſhment as, by the juſtice of that our kingdom, ſhould be found due to his crime; expecting ſtill, that ſome heinous matter would be objected and proved againſt him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that favour and protection from us, which we knew his former actions and ſervices had merited. After many months attendance there, and, we preſume, after ſuch examinations as were requiſite, he was at laſt diſmiſſed without any cenſure, and without any tranſmiſſion of charge againſt him to us, and with a licence to tranſport himſelf into this kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him ſome inſtance of our favour, and to remember the many ſervices he had done, and the ſufferings he had undergone for his affection and fidelity to our Royal father and ourſelf; and that it was time to redeem him from thoſe calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him ſince, as before our happy return; and thereupon we recommended him to you, our Lieutenant, that you ſhould move our council there, for preparing a bill to be tranſmitted to us, for the reinveſting him the ſaid Marquis into the poſſeſſion of his eſtate in that our kingdom, as had been done in ſome other places. To which letter, you, our ſaid Lieutenant, returned us anſwer, That you had informed our council of that our letter; and that you were, upon conſideration thereof, unanimouſly of opinion, that ſuch a bill ought not to be tranſmitted to us, the reaſons whereof would forthwith be preſented to us from our council. After which time we received the incloſed petition from the ſaid Marquis; which we referred to the conſideration and examination of the Lords of our privy council, whoſe names are mentioned in that our reference, which is annexed to the ſaid petition; who thereupon met together, and, after having heard the Marquis of Antrim, did not think fit to make any report to us, till they might ſee and underſtand the reaſons which induced you not to tranſmit the bill we had propoſed; which letter was not then come to our hands. After which time we have received your letter of the 18th of March, together with ſeveral petitions which had been preſented to you, as well from the old ſoldiers and adventurers, as from the Lady Marchioneſs of Antrim: all which we likewiſe tranſmitted to the Lords referees, upon a ſecond petition preſented to us by the Lord Marquis, which is here likewiſe incloſed; commanding our ſaid referees to take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, and to hear what the petitioner had to offer in his own vindication, and to report the whole matter to us; which, upon a third petition, herein likewiſe incloſed, we required them to expedite with what ſpeed they could. By which deliberate proceedings of ours, you cannot but obſerve, that no importunity, how juſt ſoever, could prevail with us to bring ourſelf to a judgment in this affair without very ample information. Our ſaid referees, after ſeveral meetings, and peruſal of what hath been offered to them by the ſaid Marquis, have reported unto us, That they have ſeen ſeveral letters, all of them of the hand-writing of our Royal father, to the ſaid Marquis, and ſeveral inſtructions concerning his treating and joining with the Iriſh in order to the King's ſervice, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing ſome forces from them for the ſervice of Scotland; that, beſides the letters and orders under his Majeſty's hand, they have received ſufficient evidence and teſtimony of ſeveral private meſſages and directions ſent from our Royal father, and from our Royal mother with the privity and with the directions of the King our father, by which they are perſuaded, that whatever intelligence, correſpondence, or actings, the ſaid Marquis had with the confederate Iriſh Catholics, was directed or allowed by the ſaid letters, inſtructions, and directions; and that it manifeſtly appears to them, that the King our father was well pleaſed with what the

Marquis did after he had done it, and approved the ſame. This being the true ſtate of the Marquis's caſe, and there being nothing proved upon the firſt information againſt him, nor any thing contained againſt him in your letter of March 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his claim before the commiſſioners appointed for executing the act of ſettlement; and that if his innocence be ſuch as is alledged, there is no need of tranſmitting ſuch a bill to us as is deſired; and that if he be nocent, it conſiſts not with the duty which you owe to us to tranſmit ſuch a bill, as, if it ſhould paſs into a law, muſt needs draw a great prejudice upon ſo many adventurers and ſoldiers, who are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have conſidered the petition of the adventurers and ſoldiers, which was tranſmitted to us by you; the equity of which conſiſts in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in poſſeſſion for the ſpace of 7 or 8 years of thoſe lands which were formerly the eſtate of the Marquis of Antrim and others, who were all engaged in the late Iriſh rebellion, and that they ſhall ſuffer very much, and be ruined, if thoſe lands ſhould be taken from them. And we have likewiſe conſidered another petition from ſeveral citizens of London, near ſixty in number, directed to ourſelf, wherein they deſire, That the Marquis's eſtate may be made liable to the payment of his juſt debts, that ſo they may not be ruined in the favour of the preſent poſſeſſors, who they ſay are but a few citizens and ſoldiers, who have deburſed very ſmall ſums thereon. Upon the whole matter, no man can think we are leſs engaged by our declaration and by the act of ſettlement, to protect thoſe who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to ſerve the crown, how unfortunate ſoever, than to expoſe to juſtice thoſe who have been really and maliciouſly guilty. And therefore we cannot in juſtice, but, upon the petition of the Marquis of Antrim, and after a ſerious and ſtrict inquiſition into his actions, declare unto you, That we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpoſe againſt the crown; *and that what he did by way of correſpondence or compliance* *with the Iriſh rebels, was in order to the ſervice of our Royal father, and warranted by his inſtructions, and the truſt repoſed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the ſervice of the crown,* and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the Marquis. And as we cannot in juſtice deny him this teſtimony, ſo we require you to tranſmit our letter to our commiſſioners, that they may know our judgment in this caſe of the Lord of Antrim, and proceed accordingly. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our court of Whitehall, July 10. 1663, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

Signet-office, July 13. 1663.

By his Majeſty's command,
HENRY BENNET.

To our right truſty and right entirely well-beloved couſin and counſellor James Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of our kingdom of Ireland, and to the Lords of our council of that our kingdom.

Her Majeſty's letter to George Lord Digby. Paris, April 7. 1645.

Monſieur Digby,

THough I received no letters from you by Pooley, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you; and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconſtant to your friends, as men are to their miſtreſſes. I do not ſpeak of you; you know, that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good friend; and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be neceſſary to aſſure you thereof. I have ſeen the diſpatch that you ſent to Jermyn concerning Hertogen. I believe that you will reſt ſatisfied: for I have the ſame opinion of him that you have; and many of thoſe things that he hath written, are lies; and within few days you ſhall hear, that I have talked with him according to his deſert; which I am reſolved to do, for ſome reaſons that

Jermyn will write to you in cypher. You think it ſtrange that Wilmot is ſo well entertained here; which is done according to the orders which I have under the King's hand and your's. It is true, his good carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. Henry Piercy and he are not ſo good friends as we thought; we have diſcovered it in ſome occaſions, where there can be no diſſembling. Concerning Tho. Elliot, he hath behaved himſelf well here; and hath ſo earneſtly importuned me for his return, that, having no order from the King to tell him that he ſhould ſtay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he is very truſty. I have charged him to impart unto you what I told him; therefore I ſhall not write any more, my hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermyn. April 17.

THE Prince of Orange was very inquiſitive this week after my letters from Paris, hoping to be reſolved preciſely concerning the ſum of the portion, as I perceived by his diſcourſe. For that point, I gave him this anſwer, that the portion alone could not be of that conſideration as to conclude the marriage, unleſs it were able to give the King ſuch ſuccours as might probably reſtore his affairs, which the ſum demanded could not do; and that therefore I was ordered to aſſure him, that if the other articles were accorded, the treaty ſhould not break off upon the ſum of the portion. From thence we came off of the other particulars; and the reſolution was this, That the affair of the Duke of Lorrain was to be purſued with all vigour, and for that end ſhips ſhould be ſent from hence to meet at the time prefixed; that when the ambaſſadors are returned, all endeavours ſhall be uſed to induce the ſtates to a league defenſive and offenſive; and that Monſieur D'Eſtrade ſhall return home fully inſtructed in theſe particulars; that is, to remonſtrate the impoſſibility (as they call it) of the paſſage for Holland, and to facilitate the other to and from Dieppe: and for the ſecond, to perſuade the ſending of an ambaſſador from France hither, to that purpoſe; which yet notwithſtanding the Prince of Orange thinks will be very difficult, by reaſon of the King of Denmark's war, to which the Hollanders are violently carried. However, all endeavours are, and ſhall be uſed to bring them to our deſires. For which end I propoſed, that, in the mean time, we might at leaſt have juſtice from them, and ſuch acts of amity, as by their paſt alliance they were bound unto: Such as are, Firſt, the liberty of their ports to our men of war, and the freedom of them now detained. Secondly, the liberty to ſell our prizes here, as we may do in Flanders; at leaſt that both ſides may ſell in their ports. Thirdly, the diſmiſſion of Strickland. Fourthly, the permitting of arms and money to be exported for the King, both from hence and from Dunkirk, with the denial of the ſame to the rebels. Fifthly, an open and public declaration of their diſlike of the rebels late propoſitions ſent to the King, according as in conſcience they are bound to declare, thereby to preſerve this people from the guilt of approving the rebellion in England; that in ſo doing they ſhould declare no war againſt the parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand. This the Prince of Orange ſeemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my papers in this kind, againſt the time that their ambaſſadors come from England; and began to aſk me concerning the deſign, and whether I had received any orders about it: for that, I told him I ſhould be particularly inſtructed by the next poſt. He likes this very well, and D'Eſtrade ſhall be inſtructed about it. This was all that paſſed ſince the receipt of your's, beſides that, for concluſion, the Prince of Orange would know, whether if the Duke ſhould fail us, our treaty were at an end. I anſwered, No: for if the ſtates would be brought to declare for the King with ſhipping, and in other particulars, as ſhould be preſented to them, I did not doubt but the King would quickly ſubdue the rebels, which was the end we purſued in this affair. To which when he replied, with more chearfulneſs than has been uſual of late, that all endeavours ſhould be uſed, I took my leave of him, and do of your ——— There's no danger in diſcourſing, as you find, concerning the portion: for the conditions for the Princeſs muſt be proportionable to it; and if other things be accorded, they will be ſolicitous themſelves to enlarge the portion: for that end the Princeſs of Orange is very civil to me, and deſires much the buſineſs ſhould go on. I ſhould be inſtructed what to ſay concerning the condition and habitation of the Princeſs before her going into England.

Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermyn. April 24.

I Will not doubt but that all my letters of laſt week are received; and if ſo, your Lordſhip doth perceive the whole negotiation here depends upon full inſtructions how to proceed in the particular treaty of the marriage; wherein the ſeveral circumſtances being underſtood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the Prince of Orange is at, and willing to do with the ſtates for the King's aſſiſtance; without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared, that the private articles ſhall not be ſigned. For this purpoſe, if the copies of former treaties cannot be had, it were neceſſary to ſet down particularly what houſes and what dowry the Queen will preſcribe for the Princeſs; and for the portion, the loweſt ſum that muſt be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto debate here; it being reſolved, that nothing ſhall be concluded, till the ſtates do fully declare in defence of the King. Whilſt their hands are buſy againſt Denmark, (whither they are now ſending ſixty men of war, and ſix thouſand foot), it cannot be expected that they ſhould be induced to ſupply the King with any forces preſently. But yet theſe things following will be in their power, and may be expected from the Prince of Orange's negotiation with them, as ſoon as their ambaſſadors return: 1. To enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the King againſt all enemies whatſoever: and though the effect hereof cannot be the preſent preparing and ſending of forces by ſea and land, yet they will be brought to it. 2. To publiſh a declaration of diſlike of the rebels later propoſitions ſent to the King, together with the ill uſage of their ambaſſadors. 3. To ſet at liberty thoſe ſhips of ours which are now detained, and to offer the liberty of their ports hereafter. 4. To permit the ſelling of our prizes in their ports; and for that end, ſuch officers for the King as ſhall be neceſſary. 5. To cauſe arms and powder to be exported for the King, with denying the ſame to the rebels. 6. To give letters of repriſal to ſuch of their own people as have been injured by the parliament. 7. To permit the King to hire or buy men of war in theſe countries, to ſet to ſea againſt the rebels. 8. To admit of no agents from England and Scotland that are not ſent by the King, and to diſmiſs them that pretend from the parliament of either: and, in purſuance of theſe points, if his Majeſty pleaſe to put out of his protection all ſuch of his ſubjects which dwell or trade here, as have aſſiſted the rebellion in England, the ſtates may proceed to ſuch confiſcation and penalties as they ſhall think fit, whereby the King may find a conſiderable profit, and they be invited to a more vigorous conjunction with him. And if this be done for the preſent, (France concurring in the ſame particulars), it is apparent, by God's bleſſing, that the King muſt needs overcome the rebels, if he can but keep his perſon and the Prince's out of their hands, till his friends that are joined in league with him can ſend more powerful aſſiſtance.

Though the portion with the Princeſs were as much as was demanded, and paid by ſeveral parts, as the Prince of Orange ſhould be able, it were not poſſible by that to ſerve the King to any effect, unleſs theſe things mentioned were together obtained, whereby London might be impoveriſhed, which is and will be the fountain of all this miſchief. And, on the other ſide, let the portion be never ſo ſmall and ill paid; yet, if theſe things be done, and the King by virtue of this marriage enabled to borrow money, or by any means to appear ſtronger at ſea than they, and at land with the ſame power he hath formerly done, by God's bleſſing, he will be quickly reſtored; which will give all the world full ſatisfaction concerning this treaty, and make the conditions honourable beyond all queſtion. Upon theſe conſiderations, I believe your Lordſhip may approve what I wrote by Monſieur D'Eſtrade, and ſend ſome orders accordingly for proceeding in the treaty of the marriage apart from other things.

And for them, beſides what I am inſtructed to do already with the Prince of Orange, it will be very neceſſary to write to Sir William Boſwel, that, upon the coming of the Holland ambaſſadors from England, he, according to his office, be inſtant with the ſtates, to perform the duties of their former alliances with the King; and that he make ſuch other propoſitions to them as he ſhall judge fit. But when the Prince of Orange ſhall find matters ſucceed well, it will be neceſſary that your Lordſhip, in the quality of an ambaſſador, appear here, to make a firm and quick concluſion.

In the mean time, it is the opinion of the Prince of Orange, that the buſineſs of ſhipping is, without queſtion, the ſole thing which ought to be intended by the Queen; and may probably reſtore the King's affairs again, though the Duke of Lorrain's voyage, and the Prince of Orange's endeavours, ſhould fail. When I wrote from Rotterdam, I was not clearly ſatisfied in the advantages on the King's part; and ſince that, the ſickneſs of Dorp, (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly diſpoſed as he was), kept me from the particular purſuit of that argument, wherein your Lordſhip had juſt cauſe to be little encouraged with what I wrote before. If it be poſſible to provide money, it will prove an excellent deſign: for the whole execution is to be diſpoſed of by the King as abſolutely as if they were Engliſh ſhips, and the commanders Engliſh; the intention being not for P. and Q. but for the honour and ſervice of the King: for which purpoſe Dorp deſires to have large and particular inſtructions; alſo ſome perſon of truſt and courage to be a ſhipboard with him, by whom he might correſpond with the Queen; and that his Majeſty would appoint ſome ports to which all prizes might be brought, and there judged; which he deſires ſhould be principally, 1. ——— and there officers of truſt to be eſtabliſhed; all which ſhall be particularly ſet down under his own hand; and, before concluſion of the matter be made, be conſidered by the Prince of Orange, who talks of this particular with pleaſure. The condition for himſelf is very ſhort, but very great, to preſcribe nothing, but truſt the King and Queen in that point; but for his officers, he expects liberal pay and reward, as it ſhall be deſerved: ſo that, in all reſpects, this is to be eſteemed his Majeſty's Royal execution; but that the commanders and maſters are ſtrangers, and ſhips hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majeſty's affairs, and any thoughts and endeavours for their reſtitution, that this is ſo neceſſary to be done, that without it all other good ſucceſſes will but ſerve to protract the war, and not at all to procure peace; for till London he humbled, the rebels can never be reduced to reaſon. But I know arguments in this kind, are not ſo needful as prayers, that God would ſend ſome means to provide the money.

For the garter which is deſigned for the young Prince, it is very earneſtly deſired by them all, and ſhall be conſtantly worn by the Prince in that manner as in England. The Prince of Orange deſires, that the King would write himſelf to him concerning it, as alſo to the ſtates; and that it may be conferred after the ſame manner as it was to the P. Elector in the field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any town begun. But of theſe things, both Sir William Boſwel, who hopes to be employed in it, and Mr. Hemfleet, will write at large.

Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. Paris, May 19.

I Wrote to you yeſterday by Col. Fitzwilliam's. I conceive you will find cauſe to take the buſineſs that concerned him into conſideration. I have ſent you now a copy of Dr. Goff's diſpatch out of Holland; by which you will ſee the ſtate of that buſineſs reduced to this only hope, That the return of the ambaſſadors out of England may not only give Prince Orange a diſpoſition to ſet on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own ſtrength to attempt, but alſo afford him ſome hopes of effecting it. Of this we ſhall ſee a ſudden iſſue. The other advantages we expect from thence, as the ſhips for the D. of Lorrain, and ſupplies of money by the marriage, are in an eſtate not much to be relied on: for the buſineſs of the Duke, I much fear will away; the money of the marriage will not be conſiderable enough to conclude it. For that reaſon, it may be, we may ſingle that advantage from the reſt, even without the conſideration of the marriage. So that we have no more to do, but to attend the iſſue of the hopes of the declaration; and, according to that, proceed, or let fall the whole buſineſs, and look after ——— as a thing to be managed according to the means we ſhall find here to go through with it. We ſhall know next week what to depend upon for the Duke of Lorrain; which failing, we ſhall preſume our pretenſions here for monies in place of that which that expedition would have coſt them here. The clergy aſſembles next week, with whom we ſhall ſet on foot the liberty the French Queen Regent hath given us to try their inclinations for the ſupport of the affairs of England. Traſdunk is gone from Dunkirk three weeks ſince, with four frigats, 6040 muſkets, 2000 pair of piſtols, 1200 carabines, ſwords, 400 ſhovels, 27,000 pounds of match, and 50,000 pounds of brimſtone. I hope he is arrived before now. His arms were all imbarked before Allen arrived there; ſo that I cannot aſſure you, that Allen will be provided with that proportion which

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I ſent you word would be ſent to Marquis Montroſe. The Queen hath ſent 400 barrels of powder to Dartmouth. She hath advice of the arrival of 200; and hopes the other will ſpeedily arrive. She could not get the merchants to undertake the carriage of them, without engaging herſelf for them, in caſe they were not paid in England. The Queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the King's order for ſhipping for the tin from time to time. Whereupon laſt week ſhe gave order for 4000 pounds Sterling to be ſent to Falmouth, for that proportion which ſhe was advertiſed by Sir Nicholas Criſp, would be ready there at the end of May; and hath demanded a ſhip of the Prince of Orange for that purpoſe. She had adviſed laſt week, that the ſhip is accorded, ſo that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The King's order concerning the tin was but during pleaſure; therefore pray have a care there be no change, without giving the Queen timely advice of it. Her Majeſty having been ſerved by Sir Nicholas Criſp, at her coming out of England, with affection and diligence, is deſirous to make him ſome return; and therefore intreats you to aſſiſt him in his affairs, as he ſhall preſent them to you, particularly for the tranſportation of ſome wools; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is alſo a ſuitor to the Queen for her recommendation to the King, to be a collector of the cuſtoms in the weſt, in which he had formerly a promiſe. Pray adviſe me in your next, how far the Queen may reaſonably interpoſe in that particular. For the propoſition concerning the Duke of York's going into Ireland, the Queen bids me tell you, that ſhe cannot yet, for any reaſon ſhe can diſcern, approve of it. The buſineſs of her Majeſty's jewels is ſo preſſing upon her, that unleſs in the future ſhe be as fortunate as ſhe hath been hitherto, ſhe will undergo great trouble and inconvenience. That you may perceive this, I ſend you a ſhort note of the parcels engaged in Holland; for which there muſt be uſe duly paid every ſix months, or the jewels muſt be loſt; for theſe ſums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reaſon it is moſt neceſſary to continue the tin in the Queen's hands, leſt ſhe ſhould fail of thoſe other means that hitherto ſhe hath had for the diſcharge of theſe inſtructions; if otherwiſe ſhe finds means to do it, then all the profits of the tin will be duly accounted for to the King. Juſt now your letter of April the 11th, and the King's of the 10th, are come; to which you can have no anſwer this week. They always come to us not under a month's time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a fortnight. Pray rectify this if you can.

Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. Paris, May 26. 1645.

YEſterday I received your's of the ſeventeenth of April by the Portugal Ambaſſador; by which you may pleaſe to obſerve, that all your letters by that way are ſtill a month at leaſt a-coming. It will be good to inquire where the ſtop is made. At the ſame time I received the King's of the thirtieth of April by Sabran; and I mark, that by him they come ſtill quicker. By both, and by all other concurring, I ſee that our affairs in England, if they had received any competent aſſiſtance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition. That which I moſt lament, is the Queen's inability in the relief of Marquis Montroſe; for which I conceive ſhe had provided, by ordering Haſdouck to furniſh him out of the proportions he had provided for England. The proportions deſigned for him, I have mentioned in my former letters; but Haſdouck would not obey the Queen's directions, but carried all he had provided into England: ſo that the Queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that work, it remains now imperfect until ſhe be furniſhed with one or the other. Something ſhe hath ſince attempted, but it is not to be relied on this May, that no poſſible things within her power ſhall be omitted for this purpoſe; for ſhe conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have repreſented. Our Holland news from Scotland, which we have often, do no leſs than your's confirm the neceſſity and moment of this conſideration. I ſend you herewithal what I had laſt week from Dr. Goff; by which you will perceive there is, ſince the return of the ambaſſador, ſome new hopes of prevailing with the ſtates for the declaration againſt the rebels; which is a thing of ſo great concernment, that we muſt make it our endeavour not to fruſtrate the hopes of it by a ſudden breaking off the treaty, and to defend ourſelves againſt the prejudices we ſuſtain by the expectation of the ſucceſs: for that cannot be aſſured enough, to rely on it for great preſent utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakened in the conſideration, to provide againſt both the inconveniences. The Duke of Lorrain hath again this laſt week made ſo many new proteſtations of his intentions, that the moſt poſitive commands that could be to Sir Hen. de Vic. have not prevailed with him to break off the treaty; but his troops now march, though himſelf do not remain at Bruxels: ſo that it will be impoſſible for any art to prolong the buſineſs beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The buſineſſes here to be done, which ſhall be carefully attended, are, that of Holland, the form I have propoſed in this letter; the ſupply of Marquis Montroſe with arms and ammunition; the Weſt with the ſame, for the Prince's new levies, and for the ſupply of the King's and Prince Rupert's army, and the relief of Guernſey. For the Prince of Wales's army, Will. Godolphin is very ſolicitous; what he will be able to effect, is as doubtful as the Queen's expectation in all the other particulars; money for the King is alſo in her thoughts and pretenſions. And now the clergy is aſſembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, ſhe will, with all the inſtance and care that may be, have that way attempted. We are at this time ſtrangely ſolicitous for you; for there ſeems to be a gathering together on both ſides near Oxford, like to produce ſome notable encounter; which cannot well be followed but with great events. God make them proſperous, and enable us here to contribute ſomething more hereunto than our prayers.

I am your's.

Your laſt concerning Tho. Elliot, where you ſeem to take notice we had not here provided according to order, is anſwered in my former ones; ſo as I am confident you are fully ſatisfied in that point.

Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. *Paris, June* 9. 1645.

YEſterday I received your's of April the twenty ninth from Oxford; whereby I muſt needs obſerve to you, ours are received in half the time that your's are coming hither. Now you are removed from Oxford, I fear it will yet be harder for you to ſend to London about all things. The Queen recommends it to you. I ſend you here incloſed Dr. Goff's laſt diſpatch word for word; by that you will ſee the eſtate of that buſineſs. Sir H. de Vic. is now here, yeſterday arrived, with the Duke's laſt demands. To-morrow he attends Cardinal Mazarine; and as ſoon as the anſwer is gotten, and Queen Regent's reſolution in a ſupply of arms and ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have ſome promiſes advanced, Petit ſhall be diſpatched, who is ſtaid for that end, and to return to us with ſome information of the ſtate you are in; which the laſt letters ſpeak ſo variouſly of, that we are in much pain. Arms and ammunition I will be again confident we ſhall ſpeedily get; but for money, I can give no good hopes of it, although the clergy be now all together, from whom we have ſo many expectations. Sir Kenelm Digby is arrived at Rome, hath had audience of the Pope; who hath given him the beſt reception that the firſt viſit was capable of; that is, the faireſt promiſes in general that can be wiſhed. If he may be relied on, there are good hopes of money there; but you know he is of a ſanguine family, and himſelf yet the melancholieſt of it. He hath viſited ſome other of the petty princes of Italy; but they are a frugal generation. Talbot is coming from Venice, without any effect of his voyage. A man the Queen ſent four months ago into Scotland to the Marquis of Montroſe, this day arrived. It grieves me Haſdouck did not obey the Queen's order for his ſupply; but now again that ſhall be ſuddenly attempted, I hope, with better ſucceſs: yet his arrival in the weſt hath been very opportune for the deſigns of the Prince of Wales there, which I obſerve to you as a ſervice ſolely of the Queen's; for nothing but her commands could prevail with him to undertake this ſupply: therefore pray give him what help you can to get his money. Pray commend my ſervice to Prince Rupert, and make my excuſe I write not to him. By ſomething I hear, I hope you two are good friends; which I much rejoice at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be ſo, and to the making of it ſo if it be otherwiſe. I reſt your's.

The Queen hath written herſelf to the King.

You will find in Dr. Goff's letter ſeveral things deſired to be ſent from England, all in my judgment moſt material; and therefore to be haſtened to him or Sir William Boſwel, with the greateſt expedition that can be. He propoſeth the ſending of my man (Carteret being already gone to Holland with inſtructions for the buſineſs of the tin) to attend that in England; who may perhaps not follow the Doctor's order in coming to you for theſe things; therefore I pray you, as ſoon as you receive this, let them be diſpatched, and ſent by an expreſs to,

Your's.

Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. St. Germain, Auguſt 5. 1646.

I Wrote to you yeſterday by the ordinary. Something I have to add by this expreſs the Queen ſends to viſit the King, and to bring her back an account of his health, and of the ſtate of his affairs. Her reſolution of ſending Cockeram into Denmark, is without doubt very opportune: for, upon the concluſion of the peace with the Swedes, he cannot but be in a condition to help us; and if, as it ſhall be in the firſt place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us ſuch an army as might land in any place where the King hath no forces, without fearing who they meet, their deſcent at Scarborough or Burlington would give a new turn to all. But this is a felicity I dare not hope. That which with more aſſurance I look upon, which in the ſecond place ſhall be ſolicited, would be of infinite uſe; that is, a ſmall number of men, ſome money, arms and ammunition; and all to go to Scotland to Marquis Montroſe. But the men in that caſe muſt ſome of them be horſemen, five hundred at leaſt; and their horſe to paſs with them. This, I conceive, would enable Marquis Montroſe to make his victories profitable as well as miraculous. But in the mean eſtate he is, for want of horſe, (for all that he complains in his letter to me), and of arms and ammunition, his advantages have brought almoſt none to the King's affairs: for he advances not into the good parts of Scotland, nor is ſo conſiderable to the army in England, as that they have forborn, for fear of him, to leave their country expoſed to him. I cannot ſend you by this bearer ſo great a volume as Cockeram's Inſtructions would be, but you ſhall have them by the next. He ſhall have order to offer the iſlands that Pooley had order to offer to the King of Denmark. The winter growing on, makes me not apprehend that all our loſſes can bring us ſo ſoon to an end, as this ſummer; and the ill weather will reprieve us until either this or ſome other help be found out. The Queen is therefore now more induſtrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thouſand piſtols for ——————————————————————

I once wrote to you of: ſo that if the perſons that ſhould have undertaken it be ſtill of the ſame mind, and the Prince of Orange, which we have written to know, that buſineſs will go forward, and may prove of great uſe in many conſiderations; but the importanteſt aim in it, is the inſenſible engaging the Hollanders in the war. Sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of ſupplies of money from Rome, but concludes nothing; the Iriſh troubling all our ſolas, until the peace be made with them. I fear all Catholic help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpoſe, I muſt tell you, with what amazement the delays of the peace in Ireland is conſidered here; and you leave us ſo ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to ſay of it. Pray, by the return of this bearer, or the firſt likely paſſage, ſend me the ſtate of it, their demand, the King of England's offers, and what you know of the difficulties. If yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by thoſe that manage it now: and therefore it ſeems to me, for ſatisfaction of thoſe that ſo much preſs it, of the Iriſh, and to ſatisfy this ſtate, who are much of that opinion, and to ſecure our hopes at Rome, and, laſtly, to put that buſineſs into a poſſibility of being concluded, that the propoſition long ſince made to the King, of having the treaty made here by the Queen and Queen-Regent, were not unfitly reſumed. For I am confident, the King by this means might have the peace upon better terms, and might limit the Queen by the ſame inſtructions that thoſe that now treat are bound by. And upon this, one of theſe fruits would follow, that either ——— ſhould have the peace, or the exorbitancy of their demands would be ſo apparent to the Queen-Regent, that we ſhould have great advantage by that. The only thing I fear, is, that the King's party in Ireland might poſſibly not acquieſce in ſuch a peace as would be fit for the King to make; and then he would have the ſcandal of it, (for it will be a ſcandalous one, that is unavoidable), without the benefit of an aſſiſtance from Ireland. To conclude, if nothing be done in Ireland, I think it moſt neceſſary, that the offers of treating be withdrawn from thence; and that the Queen may be truſted to treat and conclude with the Queen-Regent here, with ſuch as the Catholics from Ireland ſhall appoint. This I write to you to conſider of it; by the return of Sir D. Wyat you ſhall know more of this particular. This bearer ſend back immediately; and write, without flattering yourſelf or us, the pure and natural ſtate of affairs. God of heaven keep you, and give us, if he pleaſe, ſome other puniſhment for our faults, than that of our countries falling into the hands of the rebels. I am moſt entirely your's.

I have given Petit thirty pounds for his journey.

The accompt.

Borrowed at Rotterd. of the Burgomaſters,	400000
More of the bank in Rotterdam,	25000
In all from Rotterdam,	425000
Borrowed of the bank at Amſterdam by Mr. Sandys,	84500
At the Hague, of Fletcher elſtcher,	126000
More of him,	40000
At the Hague, of Van Cyren, by Sir W. Boſwel,	9000
Of Monſieur Deſpernon,	230000
Of Webſter, by three obligations together on the pendant pearls,	100000
Of him more,	43200
Of him more, and borrowed by him ſince,	70000
Of Monſieur Vicford,	70000
Of Sir Charles Herbert,	20000
Of Collimore, at Antwerp,	64000
In all, guilders,	1281700

With Webſter the ſix rubies of the chain, left for about	20000
To Webſter,	20000
To the Prince Orange,	300000

Inſtructions to our truſty and well-beloved ſervant, Daniel O Neal, Groom of our Bedchambet, 27 June 1645.

YOU are forthwith to repair unto our ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth; where you are to confer with Sir Nicholas Criſp, Knight, and with Captain Haſdouck, or any other owners of ſhips or frigats in our ſervice. You are to let them know, that whereas, by a clauſe in their ſeveral commiſſions, they are obliged, upon extraordinary occaſions of our ſervice, to employ their frigats for ſix weeks time, according to our ſpecial command, we giving them juſt payment and ſatisfaction for the time of their ſhips, during the time that they are ſo employed by us; we having now at this time ſuch an occaſion for them as doth highly import the good of our affairs, we do require them to have in readineſs to expect our orders, all ſuch ſhips or frigats as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be ſet to ſea, for a month or ſix weeks ſervice; and that, for the preſent, they do ſend immediately with you over into Ireland, unto ſuch ports as you ſhall direct, all ſuch frigats as are now fitted and ready there, into Ireland, to expect and obey ſuch orders as they ſhall receive from the Marquis of Ormond; we aſſuring the owners of the ſaid veſſels, that they ſhall not only receive full ſatiſfaction for the time that they ſhall be withdrawn from their own employments by this our command, but that we ſhall carry the ſame in mind as the moſt acceptable and important ſervice that they can poſſibly do us. And we do further command you, that in caſe you ſhall find that more of the ſaid frigats than one cannot within very few days be ready, that you make uſe of the nimbleſt veſſel you can there find; and that, whilſt the others are preparing, you forthwith tranſport yourſelf with all diligence unto the Marquis of Ormond, there to purſue ſuch further directions as we here give you; having firſt advertiſed us by expreſſes what we may rely on, and when, concerning the ſhipping aforeſaid expected for our ſervice.

You are likewiſe to repreſent unto the Marquis of Ormond, the great importance to the good of our affairs, that *we be ſpeedily ſupplied from our kingdom of Ireland, with ſome good number of foot; that we ſhould be very glad you could frame ſuch a body there to be ſent over, as might be worthy his own coming to command it; in which caſe when we hear from him, we ſhall give him our further directions; but for the preſent, that no time muſt be loſt in ſending over what numbers can be ſpared of our old Engliſh army there, as well as what may be procured of the Iriſh, together with the beſt artillery, as well for battery as the field, that the ſaid Marquis of Ormond can aſſiſt us withal.*

You are to acquaint the ſaid Marquis of Ormond, with the diligence uſed here to procure ſhipping for their tranſportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.

You are to employ yourſelf in ſoliciting what aids of all kinds may poſſibly be had from the Iriſh, according as you ſhall be inſtructed from the Marquis of Ormond: and what by his appointment you ſhall promiſe or engage in our name, by way of invitation or encouragement to our ſervice, unto any in that kingdom, we ſhall be careful to make good. But in this, and all things elſe of your negotiation there, you are ſtrictly and punctually to govern yourſelf by ſuch directions as you ſhall receive from the ſaid Marquis of Ormond, and no otherwiſe. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the ſpeedieſt and punctualleſt accounts you can unto our Principal Secretary of State attending.

From the Lord Digby to the Lord Jermyn.

SInce the writing of my other of this ſame date in my brother Secretary's cypher, I have received your's of the 28th of July in my new cypher; which overjoys me; and it is as a prediction of good fortune to us, that the Queen bears our diſaſters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my opinion before, that our ill ſucceſſes would ſooner warm that ſtate to our aſſiſtance, than our good; it being their intereſt to balance things here.

For God's ſake, haſten powder and match in plenty to the northern coaſt, and what muſkets and piſtols you can, but ammunition in the firſt place: let them be directed to Burlington or Whitby, for Scarborough is loſt; but yet with ſome caution, as to inquire before they put in, leſt by any accident the enemy ſhould have garriſoned thoſe places before we come thither.

We are advertiſed from London, that there are ſome letters intercepted from the Queen to the King, with blanks to be ſigned by the King, authoriſing the Queen to engage Ireland to the Queen-Regent for ſome aids. If any ſuch there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill uſe may be made of it here, but as it may be reſented by my Lord of Ormond; who, having committed to him the management of the affairs of Ireland, and having diſcharged that truſt ſo faithfully and prudently, may think himſelf injured in ſuch negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is entirely

Bridgenorth, Your's.
Aug. 9.

The Lord Jermyn to the Lord George Digby. St. Germain, Aug. 25.

WE have received nothing this week from you, but find by other advertiſements the King is ſtill in Wales recruiting his army. I ſee no danger of periſhing before the winter comes in to our relief, at leaſt, if our own party be not totally forſaken of their hearts and hands: for if there remain among them either underſtanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they muſt make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatſoever. I am now moſt confident, if we hold out till next ſpring, betwixt this and that we ſhall find powerful ſuccours. The deſign of —— of which I have often written to you, may now, in my judgment, be reckoned upon: for we have the money ready, the perſons of the ſame mind, and all the difficulties raiſed that be in the way, and the buſineſs in as good advance as was poſſible. Since we got the money, there is a good reaſon to expect, that within two months (they are promiſed ſooner) we ſhall have ————. This in itſelf may prove a great thing: but it is conſidered how it looks upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to *receive* new life but by a foreign aſſiſtance; which reaſonably is not to be hoped, without ſecuring their paſſage. Nothing, ſure, can appear ſo neceſſary for us; therefore pray take great care, that there be no delay in the diſpatch of all things belonging to it, when there ſhall be recourſe to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this buſineſs, both in what eſtate it is, and how it hath been retarded; but weekly now you ſhall be advertiſed. I hear there is ſome ſtop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes; ſo that, I fear, will fruſtrate Cockeram's negotiation, of which elſe I ſhould hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the Marquis of Montroſe, are arrived at Hamborough, and I hope are reimbarked from thence; Cockeram would have them go that way. We have no news yet of thoſe ſent to him from Holland. What we are to expect from * hence as towards a conſiderable ſuccour, (I mean of a body of men), is to be attended until the end of their campaign: for I confeſs I am ſo far abuſed in the buſineſs, as to believe it is equally hard to ſay we ſhall obtain no ſuch thing, as to aſſure it now: for without doubt there is no deſire here to ſee the monarchy of England devolve into another government, and there is as little doubt that there are ſtrong inclinations for the perſons of the King and Queen, and deſire to contribute to their re-eſtabliſhment; yet the humbling of the houſe of Auſtria, the beating them during the war, or making a glorious peace, I confeſs, are paſſions that prevail more; and it is no wonder. In the mean time we receive great courteſies. The Queen is moſt civilly and kindly uſed in all; her penſion duly paid; 12,000 piſtols they gave lately for the arms for the Marquis Montroſe, and the powder ſhould be ſent into the weſt; 10,000 more they have now given for the ſhips, which deſign is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000, that the ſetting them forth will come to; if they ſhould fail, it will be otherwiſe provided. The Queen of England hath given us a ſharp alarm of another diſtemper like her laſt; but the fear is vaniſhed almoſt after three fits; but being young in apprehenſion of the third, ſhe dares not write herſelf. I am entirely your's.

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* *France.*

Pray ſend me word whether the barony paſſed to Mr. Hemflet be an Engliſh barony, and to deſcend upon his ſon by my Lady Stanhope; if not, you are to move the King for the barony of Wotton for that ſon. This is a buſineſs in which the Queen was engaged in Holland, upon the important ſervices ſhe received from Hemflet, and ſhe will be very earneſt with the King to have done. Pray ſend an anſwer to this.

Let the buſineſs of the fleet be kept with all ſecrecy.

To the Honourable William Lenthal, Eſq; Speaker of the Honourable houſe of Commons.

S I R,

THeſe incloſed letters being brought to my hands by divine providence, I held it my duty to ſpeed to you, becauſe of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having ſome dragoons at Padſtow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour. The dragoons preſently endeavoured to board her; and, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, wherein the Captain and the Maſter of the veſſel were ſlain, they entered, ſeizing upon Captain Allen. The ſaid Allen threw a packet and divers looſe letters over-board, of which only thoſe incloſed were recovered. I ſhall ſend Allen with all convenient ſpeed up to you, whoſe examination you have alſo herewith incloſed. I find him to be a dangerous and ſubtle man. I believe he hath much in his breaſt which may be got out of him, by reaſon he is obnoxious as a ſpy; and a man, I perceive, loves his life ſo well, that good uſe may be made thereof, to diſcover by further examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge: for it appears by ſome of the letters, that he hath much intruſted by the Earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal account of. I have given Captain Moulton, who is upon the Iriſh ſeas, advertiſement of the enemy's intentions. To ſay no more, you will perceive by the date of the Earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he hath the honour, truſt, and liberty of a very good and loyal ſubject. I ſuppoſe you will ſee by theſe letters, what reaſon there is to haſten recruits with effect; which I muſt withal repreſent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution which cannot but attend theſe marches, and that hardſhip the army hath been put to, in ſuch a country and at ſuch a ſeaſon. I muſt acknowledge your proviſions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the army's care, in obſerving your appointments therein, to be anſwerable. I deſire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honeſt man, to the glory of God, and your ſervice; and reſt

Your moſt humble ſervant,

Bodmyn, March 7. 1645. **T. FAIRFAX.**

To the Honourable William Lenthal, Eſquire, Speaker of the Honourable houſe of Commons.

SIR,

IN my laſt, which was but yeſterday by the poſt, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount-Edgcomb, and the diſbanding of the regiments raiſed in thoſe parts, and of the coming of Mr. Coriton and divers other Gentlemen of quality;

which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly ſending to the General to be received into the protection of the parliament, which is now in ſome meaſure made known to the county, who had this day a meeting upon Bodmyn-downs. It was but yeſterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared. And now for the occaſion the meeting was deſired; which was for this purpoſe, to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; that the ſoldiers, horſe and foot, had charge to defray their quarters; that if any ſoldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it ſhould be redreſſed; that the Gentlemen of the county, naming ſuch and ſuch perſons, were come into the parliament; which did very much encourage the commonalty, to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the ſervice of the public, and defence of their own county. And that which wrought the impreſſion deepeſt upon their hearts, was Mr P.'s publiſhing to them the packets taken in the Iriſh veſſel, which I mentioned unto you in the laſt letter; which he not only ſhewed unto them, but read the ſame, and permitted ſuch of them as deſired it to read them; and told them they ſhould have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they deſired them; which abundantly gave them ſatisfaction: and that which put it out of doubt, was, that the ſhip and packets were ſeized on, and taken by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants at Padſtow, within their own county but the day before. And indeed it was a very ſeaſonable and remarkable accident as could have happened for the uniting of this county to the parliament; for the very thoughts of Iriſh and French are hateful unto them. Thoſe letters that were moſt conſiderable, miſcarried in the water; which was the Earl of Glamorgan's to the Prince, Sir Edward Hyde, and to another; which Capt. Allen, an Iriſh Papiſt, and merchant of Waterford, confeſſeth he had from the hands of the Earl of Glamorgan to deliver as aforeſaid. Upon his examination, he ſaid further, that the three hundred Iriſh

riſh deſired for the Prince's life-guard, were to be thus diſpoſed; an hundred to be put into the Mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the Prince. The General hath ſent poſt to Capt. Moulton, Admiral of the Iriſh coaſts, to give him notice in what forwardneſs the Iriſh were to be tranſported, that they may keep out ſhips at ſea for prevention. The trumpet that went with the ſummons to the Lord Hopton, is not yet returned. To-morrow early the whole army, horſe and foot, advances towards Truro: all paſſes, by-lanes, and fords being for the moſt part barricadoed or blocked up; ſo that if the enemy ſhould ſlip by, (which we no ways fear), their marches will be ſo ſlow, that their rear will be engaged before they get half through the paſſage. Before this come to your hands, without peradventure the buſineſs will be very near decided by a treaty, or retreat into the ſea. There came ſeven or eight of the Prince's ſervants this day for paſſes to go home, much lamenting the ſudden carrying the Prince on ſhipboard when they dreamed not of it. At Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, beſides arms and powder. The firſt night the town ſtood upon their guard; but the next morning repented of their folly, and without diſpute admitted our forces to come in. Be pleaſed to haſten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all ſpeed to Lime; neither of theſe will admit of delay: and haſten recruits, that they may meet us when we face about.

Your moſt humble and

Bodmyn, March 6.
11 at night.

faithful ſervant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

The examination of Allen is ſent up by this bearer, who can inform you more of the carriage of the man. I hope the bearer will come ſafe with the letters: he is injoined to have great care; he comes far with ſuch a truſt.

The

The treaty concluded with the Iriſh rebels by the Earl of Glamorgan.

WHereas much time hath been ſpent in meetings and debates betwixt his Excellency James Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, Commiſſioner to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, *&c.* for the treating and concluding of a peace in the ſaid kingdom, with his Majeſty's humble and loyal ſubjects, the confederate Roman Catholics of the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, of the one part; and the Right Honourable Donnogh Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, and other commiſſioners deputed and authoriſed by the ſaid confederate Roman Catholic ſubjects, of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did ariſe, by occaſion whereof ſundry matters of great weight and conſequence neceſſarily requiſite to be condeſcended unto by his Majeſty's ſaid commiſſioners, for the ſafety of the ſaid confederate Roman Catholics, were not hitherto agreed upon; which retarded, and doth as yet retard the concluſion of a firm peace and ſettlement in the ſaid kingdom: And whereas the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan is intruſted and authoriſed by his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, to grant and aſſure to the ſaid confederate Catholic ſubjects further grace and favours, which the ſaid Lord Lieutenant did not as yet, in that latitude as they expected, grant unto them; and the ſaid Earl having ſeriouſly conſidered of all matters and due circumſtances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the ſaid kingdom, and the importance thereof in order to his Majeſty's ſervice, and in relation to a peace and ſettlement in his other kingdoms; and here upon the place having ſeen the ardent deſire of the ſaid Catholics to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all that do, or ſhall oppreſs his Royal right or monarchic government; and having diſcerned the alacrity and chearfulneſs of the ſaid Catholics to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preſerve their religion and other juſt intereſts: In purſuance therefore of his Majeſty's authority under his Highneſs's ſignature Royal and ſignet, bearing date at Oxon, the 12th day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, the tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.* "Charles Rex. Charles, "by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, "France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* "To our truſty and right well-beloved couſin Ed"ward Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We, repoſing "great and eſpecial truſt and confidence in your ap"proved wiſdom and fidelity, do by theſe (as firmly "as under our great ſeal to all intents and purpoſes) "authoriſe and give you power to treat and conclude "with the confederate Roman Catholics in our king"dom of Ireland, if upon neceſſity any thing be to "to be condeſcended unto, wherein our Lieutenant "cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at the "preſent publicly to own; therefore we charge you "to proceed according to this our warrant, with all "poſſible ſecrecy; and for whatſoever you ſhall en"gage yourſelf upon ſuch valuable conſiderations, as "you in your judgment ſhall deem fit, we promiſe "in the word of a King and a Chriſtian, to ratify "and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you, "and under your hand and ſeal; the ſaid confederate "Catholics having by their ſupplies teſtified their zeal "to our ſervice. And this ſhall be in each particular "to you a ſufficient warrant. Given at our court at "Oxford, under our ſignet and Royal ſignature, the "12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our "reign, 1644. To our right truſty and right well"beloved couſin Edward Earl of Glamorgan;" It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, on the one part; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viſcount Mountgarret, Lord Preſident of the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholics, the ſaid Donnogh Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, Alexander

Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Eſqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Eſqs, commiſſioners in that behalf appointed by the ſaid confederate Roman Catholic ſubjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the ſaid confederate Roman Catholic ſubjects, of the other part; in manner and form following; (that is to ſay,)

1. *Imprimis*, IT is granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That all and every the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever eſtate, degree, or quality ſoever he or they be, or ſhall be, ſhall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy, within the ſaid kingdom, the free and public uſe and exerciſe of the ſaid Roman Catholic religion, and of the reſpective functions therein.

2. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That the ſaid profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion ſhall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the 23d of October 1641; and all other churches in the ſaid kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects.

3. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That all and every the Roman Catholic ſubjects of Ireland, of what eſtate, condition, degree, or quality ſoever, ſhall be free and exempted from the juriſdiction of the Proteſtant clergy, and every of them; and that the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom ſhall not be puniſhed, troubled, or moleſted for the exerciſe of their juriſdiction over their reſpective Catholic flocks, in matters ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical.

4. *Item*, It is further granted, accorded, and agreed

by

by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That an act ſhall be paſſed in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom; the tenor and purport whereof ſhall be as followeth, *viz.* "An act for the relief of his Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects of his Highneſs's kingdom of Ireland. Whereas by an act made in parliament held in Dublin, the ſecond year of the reign of the late Queen Eliz. intitled, *An act reſtoring to the crown the ancient juriſdiction over the ſtate eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual, and aboliſhing all foreign power repugnant to the ſame;* and by one other ſtatute made in the ſaid laſt mentioned parliament, intitled, *An act for the uniformity of common prayer and ſervice in the church, and the adminiſtration of the ſacrament,* ſundry mulcts, penalties, reſtraints and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom, in, for and concerning the uſe, profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion and their functions therein, to the great prejudice, trouble and diſquiet of the Roman Catholics in their liberties and eſtates, and the general diſturbance of the whole KINGDOM: For remedy whereof, and for the better ſettling, increaſe and continuance of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this kingdom of Ireland, his Majeſty, at the humble ſuit and requeſt of the Lords and Commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, is graciouſly pleaſed, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, That from and after the firſt day of this ſeſſion of parliament, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for all the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion, of what degree, condition, or quality ſoever, to have, uſe and enjoy the free and public exerciſe and profeſſion of the ſaid Roman Catholic religion, and of their ſeveral and reſpective functions therein, without incurring any mulct or penalty whatſoever, or being ſubject to any reſtraint or incapacity concerning the ſame; any article or clauſe, ſentence or proviſion in the ſaid laſt mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law or uſage to the contrary, or in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it alſo further enacted, That neither the ſaid ſtatutes, nor any other ſtatute, acts or ordinance hereafter made in your Majeſty's reign, or in the reign of any of your Highneſs's Moſt Noble progenitors or anceſtors, and now of force in this kingdom, nor all, nor any branch, article, clauſe and ſentence in them or any of them contained or ſpecified, ſhall be of force or validity in this realm, to extend to be conſtrued, or adjudged to extend in any ways to inquiet, prejudice, vex or moleſt the profeſſors of the ſaid Roman Catholic religion, in their perſons, lands, hereditaments or goods, for any thing, matter or cauſe whatſoever, touching and concerning the free and public uſe, exerciſe and enjoyings of their ſaid religion, function, and profeſſion. And be it alſo further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, That your Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects in the ſaid realm of Ireland, from the firſt day of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſhall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all offices, or truſt and advancement, places, degrees and dignities, and preferment whatſoever within your ſaid realm of Ireland, any acts, ſtatutes, uſage or law to the contrary notwithſtanding:" And that other acts ſhall be paſſed in the ſaid parliament, according to the tenor of ſuch agreement or conceſſions as herein are expreſſed; and that in the mean time the ſaid Roman Catholic ſubjects, and every of them, ſhall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the ſaid agreements and conceſſions, and of every of them.

5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authoriſed or to be authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion in their preſent poſſeſſion, and continuance of the poſſeſſion of their ſaid churches,

juriſdiction, or any other the matters aforeſaid in theſe articles agreed and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the grants and agreements hereby articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

6. *Item*, And the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal word and public faith unto all and ſingular the profeſſors of the ſaid Roman Catholic religion within the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, for the due obſervance and performance of all and every the articles, grants and clauſes therein contained, and the conceſſions herein mentioned, to be performed to them.

7. *Itam*, It is accorded and agreed, That the ſaid public faith of the kingdom ſhall be engaged unto the ſaid Earl, by the ſaid commiſſioners of the ſaid confederate Catholics, for ſending ten thouſand men to ſerve his Majeſty, by order and public declaration of the general aſſembly now ſitting; and that the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholics ſhall engage themſelves to bring the ſaid number of men armed, the one half with muſkets, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realm, at the election of the ſaid Earl, and at ſuch time as he ſhall appoint, to be by him ſhipped and tranſported to ſerve his Majeſty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, as Lord General of the ſaid army: which army is to be kept together in one entire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the ſaid army are to be named by the ſupreme council of the ſaid confederate Catholics, or by ſuch others as the general aſſembly of the ſaid confederate Catholics of this kingdom ſhall intruſt therewith. In witneſs whereof, the parties to theſe preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and ſeals the 25th day of Auguſt 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered in the preſence of
John Somerſet, Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali. Thomas Caſhel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true copy of the original found in the Archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage; compared by us,

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.
ROB. KING.

Articles of agreement made and concluded upon by and between the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan, in purſuance, and by virtue of his Majeſty's authority under his ſignet and Royal ſignature, bearing date at Oxford, the twelfth day of March, in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, of the one part; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viſcount Mountgarret, Lord Præſident of the ſupreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, Donnogh Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Eſqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Eſqs, for and on the behalf of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects, and the Catholic clergy of Ireland, of the other part.

I*Mprimis,* The ſaid Earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to and with the ſaid Richard Lord Viſcount Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Eſqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Eſqs, That the Roman Catholic clergy of the ſaid kingdom ſhall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every ſuch lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatſoever, by them reſpectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the three and twentieth of October, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one; and all other ſuch lands, tenements,

nements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than ſuch as are actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded, and agreed on by the ſaid Richard Lord Viſcount Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viſcount Muſkerry, Alex. Macdonel, and Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the confederate Roman Catholics of Ireland, That two parts in three parts to be divided of all the ſaid lands, tithes, and hereditaments whatſoever, mentioned in the precedent article, ſhall, for three years next enſuing the feaſt of Eaſter, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be diſpoſed of, and converted for and to the uſe of his Majeſty's forces, employed or to be employed in his ſervice; and the other third part to the uſe of the ſaid clergy reſpectively; and ſo the like diſpoſition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the ſaid clergy during the wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authoriſed or to be authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic religion in their preſent poſſeſſion and continuance of the poſſeſſion of their churches, lands, tenements, tithes, hereditaments, juriſdiction, or any other the matters aforeſaid in theſe articles agreed and condeſcended to by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the grants herein articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

Item, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, That an act ſhall be paſſed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, according to the tenor of ſuch agreements or conceſſions as herein are expreſſed; and that in the mean time the ſaid clergy ſhall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the ſaid agreements and conceſſions, and every of them.

And the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal word and public faith unto the ſaid Lord Viſcount Mountgarret, and the reſt of the ſaid commiſſioners, for the due obſervation and performance of all and every the articles, agreements and conceſſions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the ſaid Roman Catholic clergy, and every of them. In witneſs whereof, the parties to theſe preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and ſeals, the 25th day of Auguſt, *anno Dom.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, ſealed and delivered in the preſence of *John Somerſet, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.*

Whereas in theſe articles touching the clergy-livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of Glamorgan is obliged in his Majeſty's behalf to ſecure the conceſſions in theſe articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of ſecuring thoſe grants as to the clergy-livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majeſty, than by doing thereof, and ſecuring thoſe conceſſions otherwiſe as to the ſaid livings; the ſaid Earl undertaking and promiſing in the behalf of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as hereby he doth undertake to ſettle the ſaid conceſſions, and ſecure them to the clergy, and their reſpective ſucceſſors, in another ſecure way, other than by parliament at preſent, till a fit opportunity be offered for ſecuring the ſame, do agree and condeſcend thereunto. And this inſtrument by his Lordſhip ſigned, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpoſe, as to the ſaid livings, to which purpoſe we have mutually ſigned this indorſement. And it is further intended, that the Catholic clergy ſhall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid livings, contrary to the meaning of theſe articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali, Thomas Caſhel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true copy of the original, found in the Archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.
ROB. KING.

I *Edward Earl of Glamorgan, do proteſt and ſwear faithfully to acquaint the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty with the proceedings of this kingdom, in order to his ſervice, and to the indearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authoriſed by his Majeſty) obliged myſelf to ſee performed; and in default, not to permit the army intruſted into my charge to adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable part thereof, until conditions from his Majeſty, and by his Majeſty be performed.*

Sept. 3. 1645. GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum origin. Tho. Caſhel.

This is a true copy of the original, found in the Archbiſhop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.
ROB. KING.

King CHARLES's Caſe:

OR,

An APPEAL to all rational men,

CONCERNING HIS

TRIAL

IN THE

HIGH COURT of JUSTICE.

Being, for the moſt part, that which was intended to have been delivered at the bar, if the King had pleaded to the charge, and put himſelf upon a fair trial.

WITH

An additional opinion, concerning the death of King *James*, the loſs of *Rochel*, and the blood of *Ireland*.

By JOHN COOK, of Gray's-Inn, Barriſter.

Juſtice is an excellent virtue:
Reaſon is the life of the law.
Womaniſh pity to mourn for a tyrant,
Is a deceitful cruelty to a city.

To the READER.

*THE righteous judge, whoſe judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, muſt ſhortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign puniſhment; but, in the interim, I deſire to be judged by all underſtanding men in the world, that ſuffer their judgments to be ſwayed by reaſon, and not biaſſed by private intereſt, whether ever any man did ſo much deſerve to die. Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them. Thoſe thirty one kings which Joſhua hanged up, and Saul's ſeven ſons *, which were but at the worſt (as it ſeems to me) evil counſellors, were they not innocent, nay ſaints, in compariſon of this man? Thoſe that crucified Chriſt, did it ignorantly; for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The ſaints under the ten perſecutions ſuffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian veſpers †, the Pariſian maſſacre of the Proteſtants, and the gun-powder plot, were acted and intended by Papiſts, out of a conceit of merit. But for a Proteſtant prince, ſtyled,* The defender of the faith, *in a time of light, that had ſworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death, (the ſtrongeſt engagements); I ſay, for ſuch a one ſo long to perſecute the faithful, deſtroy and inſlave the people by oppreſſing cruelties; and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his anceſtors durſt attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have ſtopt all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the ſatisfying of a baſe luſt, cauſed more Proteſtant blood to be ſhed than ever was ſpilt, either by Rome Heathen or Antichriſtian: bleſſed God, what ugly ſins lodge in their boſoms that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reaſon that muſt be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I ſhall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it if iſſue had been joined in the cauſe; but with ſome addition for illuſtration's ſake, deſiring excuſe for the preamble, becauſe there is ſome repetition in matter.*

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* 2 Sam. xxi.

† In 1571.

King CHARLES's Caſe.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

MY Lord Preſident, and this high court, erected for the moſt comprehenſive, impartial, and glorious piece of juſtice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England; for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a King to this nation, and will, I truſt, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltineſs, take him away from us: He that hath been the original of all injuſtice, and the principal author of more miſchiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the beſt arithmetician can well enumerate, ſtands now to give an account of his ſtewardſhip, and to receive the good of juſtice, for all the evil of his injuſtice and cruelty. Had he ten thouſand lives, they could not all ſatisfy for the numerous, horrid, and barbarous maſſacres of myriads and legions of innocent perſons, which, by his commands, commiſſions and procurements, (or at leaſt all the world muſt needs ſay, which he might have prevented; and he that ſuffers any man to be killed, when he may ſave his life without danger of his own, is a murderer), have been cruelly ſlain, and inhumanely murdered, in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Aceldama, and her younger ſiſter Ireland a land of ire and miſery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court down the ſtairs, Jan. 22. ſaid, (as ſome of the guard told me, and others), That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been ſhed, but for the blood of one man, (peradventure he meant Strafford). He was no more affected with a liſt that was brought in to Oxford of five or ſix thouſand ſlain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben Johnſon's tragedies. You gentlemen royaliſts that fought for him, if ye had loſt your lives for his ſake, you ſee he would have no more pitied you by his own confeſſion, than you do a poor worm. And yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock; melt, if it were ice; break, if it were flint; or diſſolve, if it were a diamond, to conſider that ſo much precious Proteſtant blood ſhould be ſhed in theſe three kingdoms; ſo many gallant, valiant men, of all ſorts and conditions, to be ſacrificed, and loſe their lives, and many of them to die ſo deſperately in regard of their eternal conditions; and all this merely and only for the ſatisfying and fulfilling of one man's ſinful luſt and wicked will? A good ſhepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it, to ſave the ſheep: but for one to be ſo proudly wedded to his own conceits, as ſo maliciouſly to oppoſe his private opinion againſt the public judgment and reaſon of ſtate, and to make head againſt the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, ſo far as to give him the honour of the Royal aſſent, in ſettling the militia and ſafety of the people; I ſay, for a Proteſtant prince, ſo beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means, might have had any thing from the parliament; for him to occaſion the ſhedding of ſo much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an abſolute tyranny; I can ſay no leſs, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen? and what heretics are they in politics, that would have had ſuch a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praiſe from heaven and earth? But now to diſſect the charge:

1. THat the Kings of England are truſted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole ſtream and current of legal authorities run ſo limpid and clear, that I ſhould but weary thoſe that know it already, and trouble thoſe that need not know the particular caſes: for it is one of the fundamentals of law, That the King is not above the law, but the law above the King. I could eaſily deraign it from 1 Edward III. to the juriſdiction of courts, that the King has no more power or authority than what by law is

concredited and committed to him. But the moſt famous authority is Forteſcue, Chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his maſter's prerogative); who moſt judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and ſeignoral; as in Turky, Ruſſia, France, Spain, *&c.*; and a government politic and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between ſovereignty and ſubjection; as in England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. The firſt, where the edict of a prince makes the law, reſembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth, are ſpoiled; as when it is midwinter at midſummer: the latter is like a ſweet, ſmooth ſtream, running by the pleaſant fields and meadows. That, by the law of England, the King ought not to impoſe any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common conſent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people, of common right, and by ſeveral ſtatutes, ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftener, if need be, for the redreſs of public grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholſome laws, and repealing of old ſtatutes of Omri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the King hath not by law ſo much power as a juſtice of peace to commit any man to priſon for any offence whatſoever, becauſe all ſuch matters were committed to proper courts and officers of juſtice; and if the King by his verbal command ſend for any perſon to come before him, if the party refuſed to attend, and the meſſenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the meſſenger killed the party ſent for, this by the law is murder in him; but if he killed the meſſenger, this was juſtifiable in him, being in his own defence, ſo as to ſue forth a pardon of courſe: theſe and many other caſes of like nature are ſo clear and well known, that I will not preſume to multiply particulars.

That the King took an oath at his coronation, to preſerve the peace of the nation, to do juſtice to all, and to keep and obſerve the laws which the people have, himſelf confeſſes. And it was charged upon the late Archbiſhop, that he emaſculated the oath, and left out very material words, *which the people ſhall chuſe* *; which certainly he durſt not have done, without the King's ſpecial command: and it ſeems to me no light preſumption, that from that very day he had a deſign to alter and ſubvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government. But though there had been no oath, yet, by ſpecial office and duty of his place, every King of England is obliged to act for the people's good: for all power, as it is originally in the people, (he muſt needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a ſelf-deſtroyer, that ſhall deny it), ſo it is given forth for their preſervation, nothing for their deſtruction: for a King to rule by luſt, and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making; not of God's approbation, but his permiſſion. And though ſuch men are ſaid to be gods on earth, it is in no other ſenſe than the devil is called the god of this world. It ſeems, that one paſſage which the King would have offered to the court, (which was not permitted him to diſpute the ſupreme authority in the nation, and ſtanding mute, the charge being for high treaſon, it is a conviction in law), was, that 1 *Sam.* viii. is a copy of the King's commiſſion, by virtue whereof, he, as King, might rule and govern as he liſt; that he might take the people's ſons, and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and to be his horſemen; and take their daughters to be his confectionaries; and take their fields and vineyards, and olive-yards, even the beſt of them, and their goodlieſt young men, and their aſſes, and give them to his officers, and to his ſervants: which indeed is a copy and pattern of an abſolute tyrant, and abſolute ſlaves, where the people have no more than the tyrant will afford them. The Holy Spirit in that chapter does not inſinuate what a good King ought to do, but what a wicked King would preſume to do. Beſides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings; but all juſt power is now derived from, and conferred by the people. Yet, in the caſe of Saul, it is obſervable, that the people, out of pride to be like other nations, deſired a King, and ſuch a King as the Heathens had; which were all tyrants: for they that know any thing in hiſtory, know, that the firſt four monarchs were all tyrants at firſt, till they gained the people's conſent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the firſt tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and ſo were all kingdoms which are not elective, till the people's ſubſequent conſent. And though it be by deſcent, yet it is a continuation of a conqueſt. Till the people conſent, and voluntarily ſubmit to a government, they are but ſlaves, and in reaſon they may free themſelves if they can. In France the King begins his reign from the day of his coronation. The Archbiſhop aſks the people, If he ſhall be King? The twelve peers, or ſome that perſonate them, ſay, *Yes*. They gird the ſword about him; then he ſwears to defend the laws. And is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous Kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation ſhews the ſhell that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected againſt him; therefore God was diſpleaſed at their inordinate deſire of a King. And it ſeems to me, that the Lord declares his diſlike of all ſuch Kings as the Heathens were; that is, Kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws: for he gave them a King in his wrath: therein dealing with them as the wiſe phyſician with the diſtempered and impatient patient, who deſiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflammation; yet wine he will have; and the phyſician conſidering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather than his patient by fretting ſhould take greater hurt, preſcribes a little white wine; wherein the phyſician doth not approve his drinking of wine, but of two evils chuſeth the leaſt. The Jews would have a King for majeſty and ſplendor, like the Heathens. God permits this, he approves it not. It ſeems to me, that the Lord renounces the very genus of ſuch Kings as are there mentioned. And the old word *conning* (by contraction *King*) does not ſignify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wiſe, diſcreet man, that opens the people's eyes, and does not lead them by the noſes, but govern them with wiſdom and diſcretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royaliſts, be not ſo mad as to miſconſtrue, either the oaths of allegiance or ſupremacy, or any league or covenant, that any man ſhould ſwear to give any one leave to cut his throat. The true meaning is, that the King of England was ſupreme in this land, in oppoſition to the Pope, or any other prince or potentate; as the words of the oath do import, *That no foreign ſtate, prince, or potentate*, &c. In caſe of any foreign invaſion, the King was by law to be generaliſſimo, to command the people for their own ſafety; and ſo it was expounded by the parliament in 13 Eliz.. which, for ſome reaſon of ſtate, was not permitted to be printed with the ſtatutes. Beſides, God told thoſe Kings whom he had formerly anointed what their duty was; not to exalt themſelves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themſelves in the law of God. Out of which I infer, that the Turks, Tartars, Muſcovites, French, Spaniards, and all people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themſelves from that tyranny, if, and when they can: for ſuch tyrants that ſo domineer with a rod of iron, do not govern by God's permiſſive hand of approbation or benediction, but by the permiſſive hand of his providence, ſuffering them to ſcourge the people, for ends beſt known to himſelf, until he open a way for the people to work out their own infranchiſements.

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* 1. Book of ord. fol.

But before I ſpeak of the war, it will be neceſſary, for the ſatisfaction of rational men, to open and prove the King's wicked deſign, wherewith he ſtands charged. Now, that he had from the beginning of his reign ſuch a deſign and endeavour, ſo to tear up the foundations of government that law ſhould be no protection to any man's perſon or eſtate, will clearly appear by what follows.

1. By his not taking the oath ſo fully as his prede-

ceſſors did; that ſo, when the parliament ſhould tender good laws to him for the Royal aſſent, he might readily anſwer, that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the ſame.

2. By his diſhonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, when he ſet forth a proclamation, that, in regard of the infection then ſpread through the kingdom, he promiſed to diſpenſe with thoſe knights that by an old ſtatute were to attend at the coronation, who were thereby required not to attend; but did, notwithſtanding, within few months after take advantage of their abſence, and raiſed a vaſt ſum of money out of their eſtates at the council-table; where they pleading the ſaid proclamation for their juſtification, they were anſwered, That the law of the land was above any proclamation: like that tyrant, that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflowered, and then put to death.

3. By his altering the patents and commiſſions to the judges, which having heretofore had their places granted to them ſo long as they ſhould behave themſelves well therein, he made them but during pleaſure; that ſo, if the judges ſhould not declare the law to be as he would have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in ſuch as ſhould not only ſay, but ſwear, if need were, that the law was as the King would have it. For when a man ſhall give five or ten thouſand pounds for a judge's place during the King's pleaſure, and he ſhall the next day ſend to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the King and a ſubject; and it ſhall be intimated unto him, that if he do not deliver his opinion for the King, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if ſo, he knows not how to live, but muſt rot in priſon for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, as was well known to be ſome of their caſes, who underhand and cloſely bought great places, (to elude the danger of the ſtatute); whether this was not too heavy a temptation for the ſhoulders of moſt men to bear, is no hard matter to determine: ſo as, upon the matter, that very act of his made the

King at the leaſt a potential tyrant. For when that ſhall be law which a King ſhall declare himſelf, or which ſhall be declared by thoſe whom he chuſes, this brings the people to the very next ſtep to ſlavery.

But that which does irrefragably prove the deſign, was his reſtleſs deſire to deſtroy parliaments, or to make them uſeleſs: and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings in parliament in the firſt four years of his reign, which were called for ſupply to bring money into his coffers in point of ſubſidies, rather than for any benefit to the people? as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is moſt memorable, is the untimely diſſolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot, and others, (who managed a conference with the houſe of Peers concerning the Duke of Buckingham, who, amongſt other things, was charged concerning the death of K. James), were committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, where he loſt his life by cruel endurance. Which I may not paſs over without a ſpecial animadverſion: for ſure there is no Turk or Heathen but will ſay, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I would not willingly be ſo injurious to the honeſt reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elſewhere; in ſuch a caſe a marginal reference may be ſufficient. Nor would I herein be ſo preſumptuous, as to prevent any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general ſatisfaction, but humbly offer a ſtudent's mite, which ſatisfies myſelf, with ſubmiſſion to better judgments.

How the King firſt came to the crown, God and his own conſcience beſt knew. It was well known and obſerved at court, that a little before he was a profeſſed enemy to the Duke of Buckingham; but inſtantly upon the death of K. James, took him into ſuch ſpecial protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the Earl of Briſtol had exhibited a charge againſt the ſaid Duke, the 13th article whereof concerned the death of K. James; he inſtantly diſſolved that parliament, that ſo he might protect the Duke from the juſtice thereof; and would never ſuffer any legal inquiry to be made for his father's death. The Rabbins obſerve, that that which ſtuck moſt with Abraham about God's command to ſacrifice Iſaac, was this: "Can I "not be obedient, unleſs I be unnatural? What will "the Heathens ſay, when they hear I have killed my "only ſon?" What will an Indian ſay to this caſe? A King hath all power in his hands to do juſtice; there is one accuſed, upon ſtrong preſumptions at the leaſt, for poiſoning that King's father; the King protects him from juſtice: whether do you believe that himſelf had any hand in his father's death? Had the Duke been accuſed for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know, that by law it is no leſs than miſpriſion of treaſon to conceal a treaſon; and to conceal a murder, ſtrongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of acceſſary to the fact. He that hath no nature to do juſtice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he ſhould do juſtice to others? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father? Will he love a kingdom, that ſhewed no love to himſelf, unleſs it was that he durſt not ſuffer inquiſition to be made for it? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled; for ſome ſins will not be made manifeſt till that day: with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and ſtudied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do; or had he but ſtudied ſcripture half ſo much as Ben Johnſon or Shakeſpear, he might have learned, that when Amaziah was ſettled in the kingdom, he ſuddenly did juſtice upon thoſe ſervants which had killed his father Joaſh *: he did not by any pretended prerogative excuſe or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that juſtice which the horridneſs of the fact did undoubtedly demerit.

That parliament † 4 Car. proving ſo abortive, the

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* 2 Kings xii. 20. & xiv. 1. 5. † 27 Mar.

King ſets forth a proclamation ‡, that none ſhould preſume to move him to call parliaments; for he knew how to raiſe monies enough without the help of parliaments. Therefore in twelve years he refuſeth to call any. In which interval and intermiſſion, how he had oppreſſed the people by incroachments and uſurpations upon their liberties and properties, and what vaſt ſums of money he had forcibly exacted and exhauſted by illegal patents and monopolies of all ſorts, I refer the reader to that moſt judicious and full *declaration of the ſtate of the kingdom*, publiſhed in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ſhip-money did upon the matter formalize the people abſolute ſlaves, and him an abſolute tyrant: for if the King may take from the people in caſe of neceſſity, and himſelf ſhall be judge of that neceſſity, then cannot any man ſay that he is worth ſixpence. For if the King ſay that he hath need of that ſixpence, then by law he muſt have it; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a foreſt, and the people which the Biſhop calls his ſheep, to be his veniſon to be hunted at his pleaſure.

Nor does the common objection, "That the judges "and evil counſellors, and not the King, ought to "be reſponſible for ſuch mal-adminiſtrations, injuſtice, and oppreſſion," bear the weight of a feather in the balance of right reaſon. For, 1. Who made ſuch wicked and corrupt judges? were they not his own creatures? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that ſuffered thoſe black ſtars to inflict ſuch barbarous cruelties, and unheard-of puniſhments, as branding, ſlitting of noſes, *&c.* upon honeſt men, to the diſhonour of the Proteſtant religion, and diſgrace of the image of God ſhining in the face of man, he well deſerved to have been ſo ſerved. But, 2. He had the benefit of thoſe illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge ſhall oppreſs I. S. for the benefit of I. D. the King ought not to anſwer for this; but the judge, unleſs he protect the judge againſt the complaint of I. S.; and in that caſe he makes himſelf guilty of it. But when an unjuſt judgment is given againſt I. S. for the King's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers, he that receives the money, muſt needs be preſumed to conſent to the judgment. But, 3. Mark a Machiavel policy: "Call "no parliaments to queſtion the injuſtice and cor"ruption of judges for the people's relief, and make "your own judges, and let that be law that they de"clare; whether it be reaſonable or unreaſonable, it "is no matter."

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‡ 5 Car.

But then, how came it to paſs that we had any more parliaments? Had we not a gracious King to call a parliament when there was ſo much need of it, and to paſs ſo many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, *&c.*? Nothing leſs. It was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the leaſt ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that called the ſhort parliament in 1640; but to ſerve his own turn againſt the Scots, whom he then had deſigned to inſlave. And thoſe ſeven acts of grace which the King paſſed, were no more than his duty to do, nor half ſo much, but giving the people a take of their own griſts; and he diſſents with them about the militia, which commanded all the reſt. He never intended thereby any more good and ſecurity to the people, than he that ſtealing the gooſe, leaves the feathers behind him. But to anſwer the queſtion, thus it was:

The King being wholly given up to be led by the counſels of a Jeſuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of diſſenſion among us, that they might caſt in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fiſh: for St Peter's ſee perſuaded the King to ſet up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait ſo cunningly, that, whether they ſaw it or not, they were undone: if they ſaw the myſtery of iniquity couched in it, they would reſiſt, and ſo merit puniſhment for rebelling; if they ſwallowed it, it would make way for worſe. Well, they ſaw the poiſon, and refuſed to taſte it: the King makes war; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, aſſiſted him. Down he went with an army, but his treaſure waſted in a ſhort time. Fight they would not, for fear of an after reckoning. Some commanders propound, that they ſhould make their demands; and the King grants all, comes back to London, and burns the pacification, ſaying it was counterfeit. They re-aſſume their forts; he raiſes a ſecond war againſt them, and was neceſſitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ſhip-money for twelve ſubſidies. They refuſe. The King in high diſpleaſure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

There was a King of Egypt that cruelly oppreſſed the people. They (poor ſlaves) complaining to one another; he feared a riſing, and commanded that none ſhould complain upon pain of cruel death. Spies being abroad, they often met, but durſt not ſpeak, but parted with tears in their eyes; which declared, that they had more to utter, but durſt not. This ſtruck him to greater fears. He commanded, that none ſhould look upon one another's eyes at parting. Therefore their griefs being too great to be ſmothered, they fetched a deep ſigh when they parted; which moved them ſo to compaſſionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Iriſh treaſon was now ripe; and therefore it was neceſſary that England and Scotland ſhould be in combuſtion, leſt we might help the Iriſh Proteſtants. Well, the Scots get Newcaſtle. He knew they would truſt him no more, he had ſo often broke with them; therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty. Many lords and the city petition for a parliament. The King was at ſuch a neceſſity, that yield he muſt to that which he moſt abhorred. God had brought him to ſuch a ſtrait, he that a few months before aſſumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to reſtrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was conſtrained to call one: which they knew he would break off when the Scots were ſent home;

therefore got a confirmation of it, that he ſhould not diſſolve it without the conſent of both houſes, of which he had no hopes, or by force, which he ſuddenly attempted; and the Engliſh army in the north was to have come up to confound the parliament, and this rebellious and diſloyal city, as the King called it, and for their pains was promiſed thirty thouſand pounds, and the plunder; as by the examinations of Colonel Goring, Legge, *&c.* doth more fully appear.

And here, by the way, I cannot but commend the city-malignants. He calls them rebels; they call him a gracious King: he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourſe of trade between this populous city, (the life and intereſt whereof conſiſts in trade, without which many thouſands cannot ſubſiſt), and other parts of the kingdom; ſtill they do good againſt evil, and petitioning him ſo often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing ſo much, as that they are not reduced to that former and a worſe bondage than when there was a Lord Warden made in the city *, and the King ſent for as much of their eſtates as he pleaſed. But ſurely the Oxfordſhire men are more to be commended: for when the King had commanded by his proclamation †, that what corn, hay, and other proviſion, in the county of Oxford, could not be fetched into the ſaid city for his garriſon, ſhould be conſumed and deſtroyed by fire, for fear it ſhould fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be parallelled by an Infidel, Heathen, or Pagan King, nor to be precedented amongſt the moſt avowed and profeſſed enemies, much leſs from a King to his ſubjects; they reſolved never to truſt him any more.

But the great queſtion will be, What hath been the true ground and occaſion of the war? which unleſs I clear, and put it out of queſtion, as the charge imports, I ſhall fall ſhort of what I chiefly aim at, *viz.* "That the King ſet up his ſtandard of war, for the "advancement and upholding of his perſonal inter"eſt, power, and pretended prerogative, againſt the

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* Darlingrub.

† 15 April, 20 Car.

"public intereſt of common right, peace and ſafety." And thus I prove it.

1. He fought for the militia by ſea and land, to have it at his abſolute diſpoſe, and to juſtify and maintain his illegal commiſſions of array; and this he pretended was his birthright by the law of England: which if it were ſo, then might he by the ſame reaſon command all the money in the kingdom; for he that carries the ſword, will command the purſe.

2. The next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleaſed, and diſſolve them when he liſt. If they will ſerve his turn, then they may ſit by a law to inſlave the people; ſo that the people had better chuſe all the courtiers and King's favourites at firſt, than to trouble themſelves with ludibrious elections to aſſemble the freeholders together, to their great labour, and expence both of time and coin; and thoſe which are choſen knights and burgeſſes, to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themſelves and their attendants, to ſee the King and Lords in their parliament-robes ride in ſtate to the houſe, and, with Domitian, to catch flies: and no ſooner ſhall there be any breathings, or a ſpirit of juſtice ſtirring and diſcovered in the houſe of Commons, but the King ſends the black rod, and diſſolves the parliament; and ſends them back again as wiſe as they were before, but not with ſo much money in their purſes, to tell ſtories to the freeholders of the bravery of the King and Lords.

3. Well, but if this be too groſs, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament; then there goes out another ſummons, and they meet, and ſit for ſome time, but to as much purpoſe as before. For when the Commons have preſented any bill for redreſs of a public grievance, then the King hath ſeveral games to play to make all fruitleſs. As, firſt, his own negative voice, that if Lords and Commons are both agreed, then he will adviſe; which, I know not by what ſtrange doctrine, hath been of late conſtrued to be a plain denial, though under favour at the firſt it was no more but to *allow him*

two or three days time to conſider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injuſtice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to conſent to it.

4. But if by this means the King had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the Commons, but many of the Lords, that have the ſame noble blood running in their veins as thoſe Engliſh Barons, whoſe ſwords were the chief inſtruments that purchaſed magna charta; then, that the King might be ſure to put ſome others between him and the people's hatred, the next prerogative that he pretended to have, was, to be the ſole judge of chivalry, to have the ſole power of conferring honours, to make as many Lords as he pleaſed, that ſo he may be ſure to have two againſt one, if the houſe of Commons (by reaſon of the multitude of burgeſſes, which he likewiſe pretended a power to make as many borough towns and corporations as he pleaſed) were not packed alſo. And this is that glorious privilege of the Engliſh parliaments, ſo much admired for juſt nothing. For if his pretended prerogative might ſtand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to inſlave them, than by privilege of parliament; being juſt ſuch a mockery of the people, as that mock parliament at Oxford was, where the King's conſent muſt be the figure, and the repreſentatives ſtand but for a cypher.

5. But then out of parliament, the people are made to believe, that the King hath committed all juſtice to the judges, and diſtributed the execution thereof into ſeveral courts; and that the King cannot ſo much as impriſon a man, nor impoſe any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do. But now ſee what prerogative he challenges.

1. If the King have a mind to have any public-ſpirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it ſhall be found but man-ſlaughter. If

it be found murder, the man is condemned: but the King grants him a pardon; which the judges will allow, if the word *murder* be in it: but becauſe it is too groſs to pardon murder, therefore the King ſhall grant him a leaſe of his life for ſeven years, and then renew it, (like a Biſhop's leaſe), as he did to Maj. Prichard, who was lately juſticed; who, being a ſervant to the Earl of Lindſey, murdered a Gentleman in Lincolnſhire, and was condemned, and had a leaſe of his life from the King, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. For matter of liberty: The King or any courtier ſends a man to priſon; if the judge ſet him at liberty, then put him out of his place; a temptation too heavy for thoſe that love money and honour more than God to bear: therefore any judgment that is given between the King and a ſubject, it is not worth a ruſh; for what will not money do?

Next, He challenges a prerogative to inhance and debaſe money; which by law was allowed him, ſo far as to balance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond ſea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up, and tranſported: but, under colour of that, he challenges a prerogative, that the King may by proclamation make leather current, or make a ſixpence go for twenty ſhillings, or a twenty ſhillings for ſixpence: which, not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or braſs money, he that challenges ſuch a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve pence in my pocket worth but two pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

Another prerogative pretended, was, That the King may avoid any grant, and ſo may cozen and cheat any man, by a law, the ground whereof is, That the King's grants ſhall be taken according to his intention; which, in a ſober ſenſe, I wiſh that all mens grants might be ſo conſtrued according to their intentions, expreſſed by word or writing: but by this means it being hard to know what the King intended, his grants have been, like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary ſenſe for his own advantage.

Rep. 1. In the famous caſe of Altonwood's, there is vouched the Lord Lovel's caſe, that the King granted lands to the Lord Lovel and his heirs-male, not for ſervice done, but for a valuable conſideration of money paid. The patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs-male, at leaſt of his body, ſhould have likewiſe enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it ſeems, that the King was willing to keep the money, and have his land again, (for what other reaſon, no mortal man can fathom), reſolved, that it was a void grant, and that nothing paſſed to the patentee. I might inſtance in many caſes of like nature throughout all the reports, as one once made his boaſt, that he never made or paſſed any patent or charter from the crown, but he reſerved one ſtarting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and ſo merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all theſe prerogatives together; 1. The militia by ſea and land; 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleaſed, and to adjourn, prorogue or diſſolve them at pleaſure; 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot ſave themſelves without him, and muſt cut their own throats, if commanded ſo to do; 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that, upon peril of the loſs of their places, muſt declare the law to be as he pleaſes; 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleaſes; a covetous baſe wretch for five or ten thouſand pounds to be courted, who deſerves to be carted; 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord ſays ſhall not be pardoned; 7. To ſet the value and price of monies as he pleaſes; that if he be to pay ten thouſand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five ſhillings to paſs for twenty ſhillings; and if to receive ſo much, a twenty ſhillings to paſs for five ſhillings; and, laſtly, A legal theft, to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent ſuch an exquiſite platform of tyrannical domination, and ſuch a perfect tyranny without maim or blemiſh, as this is, and that by a law, which is worſt of all. But the truth is, theſe are no legal prerogatives, but uſurpations, incroachments and invaſions upon the people's rights and liberties; and this eaſily effected without any great depth of policy: for it is but being ſure to call no parliaments, or make them uſeleſs, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench; and no doubt but the law ſhall ſound as the King would have it. But let me thus far ſatisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one caſe to be law that is not reaſon, no more than they can prove a hair to be white that is black; which if they ſhould ſo declare or adjudge, it is a mere nullity: for law muſt be reaſon adjudged, where reaſon is the *genus*, and the judgment in ſome court makes the *differentia*. And I never found, that the fair hand of the common law of England ever reached out any prerogative to the King above the meaneſt man, but in three caſes. 1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his perſon; and in matters of intereſt, that he ſhould have mines royal of gold and ſilver, in whoſe land ſoever they were diſcovered; and fiſhes royal, as ſturgeons and whales, in whoſe ſtreams or water ſoever they were taken, which very rarely happened; or to have tithes out of a pariſh that no body elſe could challenge: for ſays the law, "The moſt noble perſons "are to have the moſt noble things." 2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not overreached or cozened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom. 3. His rights to be freed from incurſion of time, not to be bound up by any ſtatute of non-claim: for indeed poſſeſſion is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in queſtion; for right can never die: and ſome ſuch honourable privileges of mending his plea, or ſuing in what court he will, and ſome ſuch prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people. But that the law of England ſhould give the King any ſuch vaſt, immenſe, precipitating power, or any ſuch god-like ſtate, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or mal-adminiſtrations and miſ-government, (as he hath challenged and averred in his anſwer to the petition of right), or any ſuch principles of tyranny; which are as inconſiſtent with the people's liberties and ſafety, as the ark and Dagon, light and darkneſs, in an intenſive degree, is a moſt vain and irrational thing to imagine. And yet that was the ground of the war, as himſelf often declared; and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the ſword. But ſome rational men object, How can it be murder (ſay they) for the King to raiſe forces againſt the parliament? ſince there is no other way of determining differences between the King and his ſubjects but by the ſword; for the law is no competent judge between two ſupreme powers: and then, if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the anſwer thus. Firſt, How is it poſſible to imagine two ſupreme powers in one nation? no more than two ſuns in one firmament. If the King be ſupreme, the parliament muſt be ſubordinate; if they ſupreme, then he ſubordinate. But then it is alledged, That the King challenged a power only co-ordinate; that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them. Under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as abſurd as the other: for though in quiet times the Commons have waited upon the King, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of leſs concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people; yet when the Commons ſhall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unleſs the militia be ſo and ſo ſettled; now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themſelves. And it is impoſſible to imagine, that ever any man ſhould have the conſent of the people to be their King upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to wear the diadem; for conqueſt makes a title amongſt wolves and bears, but not amongſt men.

When the firſt agreement was concerning the power of parliaments, if the King ſhould have ſaid, Gentlemen, are you content to allow me any negative voice; that if you vote the kingdom to be in danger unleſs ſuch an act paſs, if I refuſe to aſſent, ſhall nothing be done in that caſe? Surely no rational man but would have anſwered, May it pleaſe your Majeſty, we ſhall uſe all dutiful means to procure your Royal aſſent; but if you ſtill refuſe, we muſt not ſit ſtill and ſee ourſelves ruined; we muſt, and will ſave ourſelves whether you will or no. And will any man ſay, that the King's power is diminiſhed, becauſe he cannot hurt the people; or that a man is leſs in health, that hath many phyſicians to attend him? God is omnipotent, that cannot ſin, and all power is for the people's good; but a prince may not ſay that is for the people's good, which they ſay and feel to be for their hurt. And as for the malice, the law implies that: as when a thief ſets upon a man to rob him, he hath no ſpite to the man, but love to the money; but it is an implied malice, that he will kill the people unleſs they will be ſlaves.

Queſt. But by what law is the King condemned?

Rep. By the fundamental law of this kingdom, by the general law of all nations, and the unanimous conſent of all rational men in the world, written in every man's heart with the pen of a diamond in capital letters, and a character ſo legible, that he that runs may read, *viz.* That when any man is intruſted with the ſword for the protection and preſervation of the people, if this man ſhall employ it to their deſtruction, which was put into his hand for their ſafety, by the law of that land he becomes an enemy to that people, and deſerves the moſt exemplary and ſevere puniſhment that can be invented. And this is the firſt neceſſary fundamental law of every kingdom, which, by intrinſical rules of government, muſt preſerve itſelf. And this law needed not be expreſſed, That if a King become a tyrant, he ſhall die for it; it is ſo naturally implied. We do not uſe to make laws which are for the preſervation of nature, that a man ſhould eat, and drink, and buy himſelf cloaths, and enjoy other natural comforts; no kingdom ever made any laws for it. And as we are to defend ourſelves naturally, without any written law, from hunger and cold, ſo from outward violence. Therefore, if a King would deſtroy a people, it is abſurd and ridiculous to aſk by what law he is to die. And this law of nature is the law of God written in the fleſhly tables of mens hearts, that, like the elder ſiſter, hath a prerogative right of power before any poſitive law whatſoever: and this law of nature is an indubitable legiſlative authority of itſelf, that hath a ſuſpenſive power over all human laws. If any man ſhall, by expreſs covenant under hand and ſeal, give power to another man to kill him; this is a void contract, being deſtructive to humanity. And by the law of England *, any act or agreement againſt the laws of God or nature, is a mere nullity: for as man hath no hand in the making of the laws of God or nature, no more hath he power to mar or alter them. If the pilot of a ſhip be drunk, and running upon a rock; if the paſſengers cannot otherwiſe prevent it, they may throw him into the ſea to cool him. And this queſtion hath received reſolution this parliament. When the militia of an army is committed to a General, it is not with any expreſs condition, That he ſhall not turn the mouths of his cannons againſt his own ſoldiers; for that is ſo naturally and neceſſarily implied, that it is needleſs to be expreſſed; inſomuch as, if he did attempt or command ſuch a thing, againſt the nature of his truſt and place, it did *ipſo facto* eſtate the army in a right of diſobedience; unleſs any man be ſo groſsly ignorant to think, that obedience binds men to cut their own throats, or their companions. Nor is this any ſecret of the law which hath lain hid from the beginning, and now brought out, to bring him to juſtice; but that which is co-natural with every man, and innate in his judgment and reaſon, and is as ancient as the firſt King, and an epidemical binding law in all nations in the world. For when many families agree, for the preſervation of human ſociety, to inveſt any King or Governor with power and authority; upon the acceptance thereof, there is a mutual truſt and confidence between them, That the King ſhall improve his power for their good, and make it his work to procure their ſafeties; and they to provide for his honour; which is done to the commonwealth in him, as the ſword and enſigns of honour carried before the Lord Mayor are for the honour of the city. Now, as, when any one of this people ſhall compaſs the death of the Governor, ruling well, this is a treaſon puniſhable with death for the wrong done to the community, and anathema be to ſuch a man: ſo when he or they that are truſted to fight the people's battles, and to procure their welfare, ſhall prevaricate, and act to the inſlaving or deſtroying of the people, who are their liege-lords, and all governors are but the people's creatures, and the work of their hands, to be accountable as their ſtewards, (and is it not ſenſeleſs for the veſſel to aſk the potter by what law he calls it to account?); this is high treaſon with a witneſs, and far more tranſcendent than in the former caſe; becauſe the King was paid for his ſervice; and the dignity of the perſon does increaſe the offence. For a great man of noble education and knowledge to betray ſo great a truſt, and abuſe ſo much love as the parliament ſhewed to the King, by petitioning him as good ſubjects, praying for him as good Chriſtians, adviſing him as good counſellors, and treating with him as the great counſel of the kingdom, with ſuch infinite care and tenderneſs of his honour, (a courſe which God's people did not take with Rehoboam; they never petitioned him, but adviſed him; he refuſed their counſel, and hearkened to young counſellors, and they cry, *To thy tents, O Iſrael*, and made quick and ſhort work of it); after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exerciſes towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the ſervant; for him not only to ſet up a ſtandard of war in defiance of his dread ſovereign the people, (for ſo they truly were in nature, though names have befoolled us), but to perſiſt ſo many years in ſuch cruel perſecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made a peace: if ever there were ſo ſuperlative a treaſon, let the Indians judge; and whoſoever ſhall break and violate ſuch a truſt and confidence, anathema Maranatha be unto them.

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* Com. E. Leiceſter's caſe.

Queſt. But why was there not a written law, to make it treaſon for the King to deſtroy the people, as well as for a man to compaſs the King's death?

Reſp. Becauſe our anceſtors did never imagine, that any King of England would have been ſo deſperately mad, as to levy a war againſt the parliament and people. As in the common inſtance of paricide, the Romans made no law againſt him that ſhould kill his father; thinking no child would be ſo unnatural, to be the death of him who was the author of his life: but when a child came to be accuſed for a murder, there was a more cruel puniſhment inflicted, than for other homicides: for he was thrown into the ſea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, ſignificant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my *Poor man's caſe, fol.* 10. Nor was there any law made againſt parents that ſhould kill their children; yet if any man was ſo unnatural, he had an exemplary puniſhment.

Obj. But is it not a maxim in law, *That the King can do no wrong?*

Reſp. For any man to ſay ſo, is blaſphemy againſt the great God of truth and love: for only God cannot err; becauſe what he wills is right, becauſe he wills it. And it is a ſad thing to conſider how learned men, for unworthy ends, ſhould uſe ſuch art to ſubdue the people, by tranſportation of their ſenſes, as to make them believe that the law is, That the King can do no wrong.

1. For law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no ſuch caſe to be found in law, that if the King rob, or murder, or commit ſuch horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong. Indeed the caſe is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that “if “ the King kill a man, it is no felony to make him “ ſuffer death;” that is to be meant in ordinary courts of juſtice: but there is no doubt but the par-

liament might try the King, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find caſes in law, that the King had been ſued even in civil actions.

In 43 Edw. III. 22. it is reſolved, That all manner of actions did lie againſt the King, as againſt any Lord. And 24 Edw. III. 23. Wilby, a learned judge, ſaid, That there was a writ *Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ*.

Indeed Edw. I. did make an act of ſtate, "That "men ſhould ſue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye "digeſt of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and biteſheeps began to ſing lullaby, and ſpeak Platentia to the King, that "My Lord the King is an angel of light." Now, angels are not reſponſible to men, but God; therefore not kings. And the judges, they begin to make the King a God, and ſay, That by law his ſtyle is *Sacred Majeſty*, though he ſwears every hour; and *Gracious Majeſty*, though gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the King hath an omnipotency and omnipreſence.

But I am ſure there is no caſe in law, that if the King levy a war againſt the parliament and people, that it is not treaſon. Poſſibly that caſe in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the King ſhould in his paſſion kill a man, this ſhall not be felony to take away the King's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a King to death for one offence and miſcarriage, than the execution of juſtice upon him can advantage them. But what is this to a levying of war againſt a parliament? Never any judge was ſo devoid of underſtanding, that he denied that to be treaſon. But ſuppoſe a judge that held his place at the King's pleaſure did ſo, I am ſure never any parliament ſaid ſo. But what if there had, in dark times of Popery, been an act made, That the King might murder, raviſh, burn, and perpetrate all miſchiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to meaſure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, ſay, That this is an obligation for men to ſtand ſtill, and ſuffer a monſter to cut their throats, and grant commiſſion to rob at Suters-hill? As ſuch, and no better are all legal thefts and oppreſſions. The Doctor ſays, That a ſtatute againſt giving an alms to a poor man is void. He is no ſtudent, I mean, was never bound apprentice to Reaſon, that ſays, A King cannot commit treaſon againſt the people.

Obj. But are there not negative words in the ſtatute of 25 Edw. III. That nothing elſe ſhall be conſtrued to be treaſon but what is there expreſſed?

Reſp. That ſtatute was intended for the people's ſafety, that the King's judges ſhould not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the King or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the King to deſtroy the people. And though it be ſaid, That the King and parliament only may declare treaſon; yet, no doubt, if the King will neglect his duty, it may be ſo declared without him: for when many are obliged to do any ſervice, if ſome of them fail, the reſt muſt do it.

Obj. But is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend againſt ſome written law? for where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

Reſp. It is very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor poſitive law, there can be no tranſgreſſion; and therefore that ſcripture is much abuſed to apply it only to laws poſitive. For,

1. *Ad ea quæ frequentius*, &c. It is out of the ſphere of all earthly lawgivers to comprehend and expreſs all particular caſes that may poſſibly happen, but ſuch as are of moſt frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the ſeveral faces of men different from one another; elſe laws would be too tedious: and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reaſons of ſtate, ſo as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. The law of England is, *Lex non ſcripta*; and we have a direction in the epiſtle to the 3d Rep. That when our law books are ſilent, we muſt repair to the law of nature and reaſon. Holinſhed, and other hiſto-

rians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. VIII. the Lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no poſitive law to make it felony: and before any ſtatute againſt witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, becauſe it is death by God's law. If any Italian mountebank ſhould come over hither, and give any man poiſon that ſhould lie in his body above a year and a day and then kill him, (as it is reported they can give a man poiſon that ſhall conſume the body in three years), will any make ſcruple or queſtion to hang up ſuch a raſcal? At Naples, the great treaſurer of corn being intruſted with many thouſand quarters at three ſhillings the buſhel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to ſell it for five ſhillings the buſhel to foreign merchants, inriched himſelf exceedingly thereby; and corn growing ſuddenly dear, the council called him to account for it; who profered to allow three ſhillings for it, as it was delivered into his cuſtody, and hoped thereby to eſcape; but for ſo great a breach of truſt, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged: and *though* there was no poſitive law for it, to make it treaſon; yet it was reſolved by the beſt politicians, that it was treaſon to break ſo great a truſt by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom; and that for ſo great an offence he ought to die, that durſt preſume to *inrich* himſelf by that which might indanger the lives of ſo many citizens: for as ſociety is natural, ſo governors muſt of neceſſity, and in all reaſon, provide for the preſervation and ſuſtenance of the meaneſt member, he that is but as the little toe of the body-politic.

But I know the ingenuous reader deſires to hear ſomething concerning Ireland, where there were no leſs than 152,000 men, women, and children, *moſt* barbarouſly and ſatanically murdered in the firſt four months of the rebellion; as appeared by ſubſtantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the King had a hand, or but a little finger in that maſſacre, every man will ſay, Let him die the *death*. But how ſhall we be aſſured of that? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits? For my own particular,

cular, I have ſpent many ſerious thoughts about it, and I deſire in doubtful caſes to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conſcience acquit him of it. Many ſtrong preſumptions, and ſeveral oaths of honeſt men, that have ſeen the King's commiſſion for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down ſtairs with a bloody ſword in his hand, and find a man ſtabbed in the chamber; though I did not ſee this man run into the body by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durſt not but find him guilty of the murder. And I cannot but admire, that any man ſhould deny that for him, which he durſt never deny for himſelf. How often was that monſtrous rebellion laid in his diſh? and yet he durſt never abſolutely deny it. Never was bear ſo unwillingly brought to the ſtake, as he was to declare againſt the rebels: and when he did once call them rebels, he would ſuffer but forty copies to be printed, and thoſe to be ſent to him ſealed: and he hath ſince above forty times called them his ſubjects, and his good ſubjects; and ſent to Ormond to give ſpecial thanks to ſome of theſe rebels, as Muſkerry and Plunket, (which I am confident, by what I ſee of his height of ſpirit and undaunted reſolution at his trial and ſince, acting the laſt part anſwerable to the former part of his life, he would rather have loſt his life, than to have ſent thanks to two ſuch incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themſelves); queſtionleſs, if the King had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thouſand declarations againſt thoſe bloodhounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimſtone, and have ſent to all princes in the world for aſſiſtance againſt ſuch accurſed devils in the ſhape of men. But he durſt not offend thoſe fiends and firebrands; for if he had, I verily believe they would ſoon have produced his commiſſion under his hand and ſeal of Scotland at Edinburgh 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, atteſted by oath, diſperſed by copies in Ireland, which cauſed the general rebellion.

Obj. He did not give commiſſion to kill the Engliſh, but to take their forts, caſtles, towns, and arms, and come over and help him.

Reſp. And is it like all this could be effected without the ſlaughter of the poor Engliſh? Did the King ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? murdering the Proteſtants was ſo acceptable to him; and with this limitation, that none ſhould be publiſhed without his further directions; as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's cuſtody. But the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they had killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer againſt them injoined in all churches; but no ſuch matter againſt the Iriſh.

Well, when the rebels were worſted in Ireland, the King makes war here to protect them; which but for his fair words had been prevented; often calling God to witneſs, he would as ſoon raiſe war on his own children: and men from Popiſh principles aſſiſt him. Well, we fought in jeſt, and were kept between winning and loſing. The King muſt not be too ſtrong, leſt he revenge himſelf; nor the parliament too ſtrong, for the Commons would rule all, till Naſeby fight, that then the King could keep no more days of thankſgiving ſo well as we. Then he makes a ceſſation in Ireland, and many Iriſh came over to help him: Engliſh came over with Papiſts, who had ſcarce wiped their ſwords ſince they had killed their wives and children, and had their eſtates.

But this I argue, The rebels knew that the King had proclaimed them traitors, and forty copies were printed: and the firſt clauſe of an oath injoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and "allegiance to King Charles; and by all means to "maintain his Royal prerogative againſt the Puritans "in the parliament of England." Now, is any man ſo weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, that if the rebels had, without the King's command or conſent, murdered ſo many Proteſtants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath to have maintained his prerogative? No; thoſe bloody devils had more wit than to fight in jeſt. If the King had once in good earneſt proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their ſcabbards, and would not have ſtyled themſelves *the King and Queen's army*, as they did. And truly, that which the King ſaid for himſelf, That he would have ventured himſelf to have gone in perſon into Ireland to ſuppreſs that rebellion, is but a poor argument to inforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the maſſacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had ſome hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have deſtroyed this nation. For when the Earl of Leiceſter was ſent by the parliament to ſubdue the rebels, did not the King hinder him from going? and were not the cloaths and proviſions which were ſent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor Proteſtants there, ſeized upon by his command, and his men of war, and ſold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to deſtroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ſhips; but freed the King's, as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the King ſhould ſay, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much Proteſtant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the Papiſts here triumph and boaſt, that they hoped ere long to ſee London ſtreets run down in blood? And yet I do not think that the King was a Papiſt, or that he deſigned to introduce the Pope's ſupremacy in ſpiritual things into this kingdom. But thus it was, a Jeſuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils; and ſome mungrel Proteſtants, that leſs hated the Papiſts than the Puritans, by the Queen's mediation, joined all together to deſtroy the Puritans; hoping that the Papiſts, and the Laodicean Proteſtants, would agree well enough together. And, laſtly, if it be ſaid, That if the King and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the King's commiſſion, under the great ſeal of Ireland? Truly there hath been ſo much dawbing, and ſo little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be ſo many beggars.

Concerning the betraying of Rochel, to the inſlaving of the Proteſtant party in France, I confeſs, I heard ſo much of it, and was ſo ſhamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the Proteſtant Miniſters in France, that I could believe no leſs than that the King was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French Proteſtants againſt the King, and the late Duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And ſome of the Miniſters told me ten years ſince, That God would be revenged of the wicked King of England, for betraying Rochel: And I have often heard Deodati ſay, concerning Henry IV. of France, That the Papiſts had his body, but the Proteſtants had his heart and ſoul; but for the King of England, The Proteſtants had his body, but the Papiſts had his heart: not that I think he did believe tranſubſtantiation, (God forbid I ſhould wrong the dead); but I verily believe, that he loved a Papiſt better than a Puritan. . . . .

The Duke of Roan, who was an honeſt, gallant man, and the King's godfather, would often ſay, That all the blood which was ſhed in Dauphiny, would be caſt upon the King of England's ſcore. For thus it was, the King ſent a letter to the Rochellers by Sir William Breecher, to aſſure them, that he would aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt againſt the French King, for the liberty of their religion, conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was ſent into Savoy, and to the Duke of Roan, to aſſure them from the King, that 30,000 men ſhould be ſent out of England, to aſſiſt them againſt the French King, in three fleets; one to land in the iſle of Ree, a ſecond in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy. Whereupon the Duke of Roan, being General for the Proteſtants, not ſuſpecting that the French durſt aſſault him in Dauphiny, (becauſe the King of England was ready to invade him, as he had promiſed), drew out his army upon diſadvantage; whereupon the French King employed all his army in Dauphiny againſt the Proteſtants; who were forced to retreat, and the Duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the Proteſtants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to ſtand barely at the King's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of aſſurance, as formerly they had; being ſuch a peace as the ſheep make with the wolves when the dogs are diſmiſſed. And the Proteſtants have ever ſince cried out to this very day, It is not the French King that did us wrong, for then we could have borne it; but it was the King of England, a profeſſed Proteſtant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times intreated Deodati, and others, to have a good opinion of the King, he would anſwer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

There is a French book printed about two years ſince, called *Memoirs du Monſieur de Roan*, where the King's horrid perfidiouſneſs and deep diſſimulation is very clearly unfolded and diſcovered. To inſtance but in ſome particulars, the King having ſolemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they ſhould periſh, did, in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, ſend out eight ſhips to ſea, commanded by Sir John Pennington, to aſſiſt the Rochellers, as was pretended; but nothing leſs intended: for Pennington aſſiſted the French King againſt the Rochellers; which made Sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in deteſtation of ſo damnable a plot; and the Engliſh maſters and owners of ſhips refuſing to lend their ſhips to deſtroy the Rochellers, whom with their ſouls they deſired to relieve, Pennington in a mad ſpite ſhot at them.

Subiſe, being agent here in England for the French Proteſtants, acquainted the King how baſely Pennington had dealt; and that the Engliſh ſhips had mowed down the Rochel ſhips like graſs, not only to the great danger and loſs of the Rochellers, but to the eternal diſhonour of this nation, ſcandal of our religion, and diſadvantage of the general affairs of all the Proteſtants in Chriſtendom. The King ſeems to be diſpleaſed, and ſays, What a knave is this Pennington? But whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge. But the thing being ſo plain, ſaid Subiſe to the King, Sir, why did the Engliſh ſhips aſſiſt the French King? and thoſe that would not, were ſhot at by your Admiral. The French Proteſtants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The King was much put to it for a ready anſwer; but at laſt thus it was packed up, that the French King had a deſign to be revenged of Genoa for ſome former affront; and that the King lent him eight Engliſh ſhips to be employed for Genoa; and that ſailing towards Genoa, they met with ſome of the Rochellers accidentally; and that the Engliſh did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commiſſion to fight at that preſent: wherein the Rochellers might, and would have declined a ſea-fight, if they had not expected our aſſiſtance. But ſtill the poor Proteſtants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the King; who, in great ſeeming zeal, being ſurety for the laſt peace between the French King and his Proteſtant ſubjects, ſends Devick to the Duke of Roan, to aſſure him, that if Rochel were not ſpeedily ſet at liberty, (which the French King had beſieged, contrary to his agreement), he would employ his whole ſtrength, and in his own perſon ſee it performed: which being not done, then the King ſends the Duke of Buckingham to the iſle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better ſucceſs to Subiſe, commanding the Admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subiſe's hearing, to do nothing without his advice. But when the Duke came to land at the iſle of Ree, many gallant Engliſhmen loſt their lives, and the Duke brought back 300 tuns of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a neceſſity for the Engliſhmen; which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, ſo long as they had proviſion within. I confeſs the Rochellers were not wiſe to lend the Duke their corn, conſidering how they had been dealt with. But what a baſe thing was it, ſo to betray them, and to ſwear unto them, that they ſhould have corn enough ſent from England before they wanted it? and for a long time, God did miraculouſly ſend them in a new kind of fiſh which they never had before. But when the Duke came to court, he made the honeſt Engliſh believe, that Rochel would ſuddenly be relieved; and that there was not the leaſt danger of the loſs of it. But Secretary Cook, an honeſt underſtanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to ſend ſome ſuccour to Rochel, was ſuddenly ſent away from court upon ſome ſleeveleſs errand; or, as ſome ſay, to Portſmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel. But the Duke ſoon after went thither, and ſaid, His life upon it, Rochel is ſafe enough. And the next day, Subiſe being at Portſmouth, he preſſed the Duke of Buckingham moſt importunately to ſend relief to Rochel then or never; the Duke told him, that he had juſt then heard good news of the victualling of Rochel, which he was going to tell the King: which Subiſe making doubt of, the Duke affirmed it by an oath; and having the words in his mouth, he was ſtabbed by Felton, and inſtantly died. The poor Rochellers ſeeing themſelves ſo betrayed, exclaimed of the Engliſh, and were conſtrained through famine to ſurrender the city. Yet new aſſurances came from the King to the Duke of Roan, that he ſhould never be abandoned; and that he ſhould not be diſmaid nor aſtoniſhed for the loſs of Rochel.

But Subiſe ſpoke his mind freely at court, That the Engliſh had betrayed Rochel; and that the loſs of that city was the apparent perdition and loſs of thirty two places of ſtrength from the French Proteſtants in Languedoc, Piedmont, and Dauphiny: therefore it was thought fit that he ſhould have a fig given him to ſtop his mouth. Well, not long after, two capuchins were ſent into England to kill honeſt Subiſe; and the one of them diſcovered the other. Subiſe rewarded the diſcoverer, and demanded juſtice here againſt the other, who was a priſoner: but, by what means you may eaſily imagine, that aſſaſſinate raſcal, inſtead of being whipped, or receiving

ceiving ſome more ſevere puniſhment, was releaſed, and ſent back into France with money in his purſe. And one of the meſſengers that was ſent from Rochel to complain of thoſe abominable treacheries, was taken here, and, as the Duke of Roan writes, was hanged for ſome pretended felony or treaſon. And much more to this purpoſe may be found in the Duke of Roan's memorials. But yet I know many wiſe, ſober men do acquit the King from the guilt of the loſs of Rochel, and lay it upon the Duke, as if it were but a loſs of his reputation. They ſay, that the Duke of Buckingham agitated his affairs, neither for religion, nor the honour of his maſter; but only, to ſatiſfy his paſſion in certain fooliſh vows which he made in France, entered upon a war; and that the buſineſs miſcarried through ignorance, and for want of underſtanding to manage ſo difficult a negotiation, he being unfit to be an Admiral or a General.

I confeſs that for many years I was of that opinion, and thought that the King was ſeduced by evil counſel; and ſome thought, that Buckingham, and others, ruled him as a child, and durſt do what they liſt. But certainly he was too politic and ſubtil a man to be ſwayed by any thing but his own judgment. Since Naſeby letters, I ever thought him principal in all tranſactions of ſtate, and the wiſeſt about him but acceſſories. He never acted by any implicit faith in ſtate-matters; the proudeſt of them all durſt never croſs him in any deſign when he had once reſolved upon it. Is any man ſo ſoft-brained to think, that the Duke or Pennington durſt betray Rochel without his command? would not he have hanged them up at their return, if they had wilfully tranſgreſſed his commands? A thouſand ſuch excuſes made for him, are but like Iriſh quagmires, that have no ſolid ground or foundation in reaſon. He was well known to be a great ſtudent in his younger days, that his father would ſay, He muſt make him a Biſhop. He had more learning and dexterity in ſtate-affairs, undoubtedly, than all the kings in Chriſtendom. If he had had grace anſwerable to his ſtrong parts, he had been another Solomon; but his wit and knowledge proved like a ſword in a mad-man's hand: he was a ſtranger to the work of grace and the Spirit of God, as the poor creature confeſſed to Mr Knowles after he was condemned; and all thoſe meanders in ſtate, his ſerpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to ſhame and confuſion. But I am fully ſatisfied, none of his council durſt ever adviſe him to any thing but what they knew before he reſolved to have done: and that they durſt as well take a bear by the tooth, as do, or conſent to the doing of any thing, but what they knew would pleaſe him. They did but hew and ſquare the timber; he was the maſter-builder that gave the form to every architecture. And being ſo able and judicious to diſcern of every man's merits, never think that the Duke or Pennington, or any judge or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage, without his command, againſt law or honour.

Upon all which premiſſes, may it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I do humbly demand and pray the juſtice of this high court: and yet not I, but the innocent blood that hath been ſhed in the three kingdoms, demands juſtice againſt him. This blood is vocal, and cries loud; and yet ſpeaks no better, but much louder than the blood of Abel. For what proportion hath the blood of that righteous man, to the blood of ſo many thouſands? If King Ahab and Queen Jezebel, for the blood of one righteous Naboth, (who would not ſell his inheritance for the full value), were juſtly put to death; what puniſhment does he deſerve that is guilty of the blood of thouſands, and fought for a pretended prerogative, that he might have any man's eſtate that he liked without paying for it? This blood hath long cried, "How long, parliament; how long, army, will ye forbear to avenge our blood? Will ye not do juſtice upon the capital author of all injuſtice? When will ye take the proud lion by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations? What is the houſe of Commons? what is the army? (as Pharaoh ſaid, *Who is the Lord? and who is Moſes?*), I am not accountable to any power on earth." Thoſe that were murdered at Brainford, knocked on the head in the water, and thoſe honeſt ſouls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton and Liverpool in Lancaſhire, at Bartomley in Cheſhire, and many other places, their blood cries night and day for juſtice againſt him; their wives and children cry, "Juſtice upon the murderer, or elſe "give us our fathers and huſbands again;" nay, ſhould the people be ſilent, the very ſtones and timber of the houſes would cry for juſtice againſt him. But, my Lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to ſpeak to two particulars. 1. Concerning the priſoner. When I conſider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him; though I know that all the world cannot reſtore him, nor ſave his life, becauſe God will not forgive his temporal puniſhment; yet if God in him will be pleaſed to add one example more to the church of his unchangeable love to his elect in Chriſt, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace, I am troubled in my ſpirit in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he ſhould depart this life, without love and reconciliation to all thoſe ſaints whom he hath ſcorned under the notion of Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and Sectaries. It cannot be denied, but that he hath ſpent all his days in unmeaſurable pride; that, during his whole reign, he hath deported himſelf as a God; been depended upon, and adored as God; that hath challenged and aſſumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence; that with the breath of his mouth hath diſſolved parliaments: his *Non placet* hath made all the counſels of that ſupreme court to become abortives. *Non curo* hath been his motto; who, inſtead of being honoured as good kings ought to be, and no more, hath been idolized and adored, as our good God only ought to be: a man that hath ſhot all his arrows againſt the upright in the land, hated Chriſt in his members, ſwallowed down unrighteouſneſs as the ox drinks water, eſteemed the needy as his footſtool, cruſhed honeſt public-ſpirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honeſt more than he did; counted it the beſt art and policy to ſuppreſs the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers ſo to gripe, grind, oppreſs and over-reach the free people of the land, that he might do what he liſt, (the remembrance whereof would pierce his ſoul, if he knew the preciouſneſs of it). But all ſins to an infinite mercy are equally pardonable; therefore my prayer for this poor wretch ſhall be, That God would ſo give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Chriſt whom he hath impriſoned, perſecuted and murdered in the ſaints; that he which hath lived a tyrant, and hated nothing ſo much as holineſs, may die a convert, and in love to the ſaints in England; that ſo the tears of the oppreſſed and the afflicted may not be as ſo many fiery ſtinging ſerpents, cauſing an eternal deſpairing, continual horror to this miſerable man, when all tyrants ſhall be aſtoniſhed, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt that I wiſh to him, is, that he may look the ſaints in the face with comfort, for the ſaints muſt judge the world. And however it may be he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman ſpirit, not to repent of any thing, nor expreſs any ſorrow for any ſin, though never ſo horrid; taking more care and fear not to change their countenance upon the ſcaffold, than what ſhall become of them after death: yet I beſeech your Lordſhip, that I may tell him and all the malignants now living but this: "Charles Stuart, unleſs you depart this life in love and reconciliation to all thoſe ſaints and godly men whom you have either ignorantly or maliciouſly oppoſed, mocked and perſecuted, and ſtill ſcorn and jeer at as heretics and ſectaries, there is no more hopes for you ever to ſee God in comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great building; or for the devil to be ſaved, which he might be, if he could love a ſaint as ſuch." No, Sir, it will be too late for you to ſay to thoſe ſaints whom you have defied, "Give me ſome of your holineſs, that I may behold God's angry countenance." You can expect no anſwer, but, "Go, buy, Sir, of thoſe ſoul-huckſters, your Biſhops, which fed you "with chaff and poiſon, and now you muſt feed "upon fire and brimſtone to all eternity."

2. Concerning myſelf, I bear no more malice to the man's perſon, than I do to my dear father; but I hate that curſed principle of tyranny that has ſo long lodged and harboured within him, which has turned our waters of law into blood; and therefore upon that malignant principle I hope this high court (which is an habitation of juſtice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom) will do ſpeedy juſtice, that this lion, which has devoured ſo many ſheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron ſceptre, which hath been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter's veſſel, may be wreſted out of the hands of tyrants; that my honourable clients (for whom I am an unworthy advocate) the people of England, may not only taſte, but drink abundantly of thoſe ſweet waters of that well of liberty which this renowned army hath digged with their ſwords, which was ſtopped by the Philiſtines, the fierce Jew, and uncircumciſed Canaanite. The hopes whereof made me readily to hearken to the call to this ſervice, as if it had been immediately from heaven; being fully ſatisfied, that the priſoner was long ſince condemned to die by God's law, (which being more noble and ancient than any law of man, if there had been a ſtatute that he ſhould not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithſtanding); and that this high court was but to pronounce the ſentence and judgment written againſt him. And though I might have been ſufficiently diſcouraged, in reſpect that my reaſon is far leſs than others of my profeſſion; yet conſidering that there are but two things deſirable to make a dumb man eloquent; namely, A good cauſe, and good judges; the firſt whereof procures the juſtice of heaven, and the ſecond juſtice upon earth; and thinking that happily God might make uſe of one mean man at the bar, amongſt other learned counſel, that more of his mind might appear in it, (for many times the leſs there is of man, the more God's glory doth appear; and hitherto very much of the mind of God hath appeared in this action),

I went as cheerfully about it as to a wedding: and that the glory of this adminiſtration may be wholly given to God, I deſire to obſerve, to the praiſe of his great name, the work of God upon my own ſpirit, in his gracious aſſiſtance and preſence with me, as a return of prayer and fruit of faith; believing that God never calls to the acting of any thing ſo pleaſing to him, as this moſt excellent court of juſtice is, but he is preſent with the honourable judges, and thoſe that wait upon them. I have been ſometimes of counſel againſt felons and priſoners; but I never moved the court to proceed to judgment againſt any felon, or to keep any man in priſon, but I trembled at it in my thoughts; as thinking it would be eaſier to give an account of mercy and indulgence, than of any thing that might look like rigour: but now my ſpirits are quite of another temper; and I hope it is meat and drink to good men to have juſtice done, and recreation to think what benefit this nation will receive by it.

And now, my Lord, I muſt, as the truth is, conclude him guilty of more tranſcendent treaſons, and enormous crimes, than all the kings in this part of the world have ever been. And as he that would picture Venus, muſt take the eyes of one, the cheeks of another beautiful woman, and ſo other parts, to make a compleat beauty: ſo to delineate an abſolute tyrant, the cruelty of Richard III. and all the ſubtilty, treachery, diſſimulation, abominable projects, and diſhonourable ſhifts, that ever were ſeparately in any that ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, conſpired together to make their habitation in this whited wall. Therefore I humbly pray, that as he has made himſelf a precedent in committing ſuch horrid acts, which former kings and ages knew not, and have been afraid to think of, that your Lordſhip, and this high court, out of your ſublime wiſdoms, and for juſtice ſake, would make him an example for other kingdoms for the time to come, that the kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more ſo wickedly; that he which would not be a pattern of virtue, and an example of juſtice in his life, may be a precedent of juſtice to others by his death.

Courteous reader, for thy full ſatisfaction in matter of law, how the late King was by the law of the land accountable for his tyrannous and traiterous exorbitancies, I refer thee to my Lord Preſident's moſt learned and judicious ſpeech before the ſentence read: and I have one word to add, That high court was a reſemblance and repreſentation of the great day of judgment, when the ſaints ſhall judge all worldly powers, and where this judgment will be confirmed and admired; for it was not only *bonum*, but *bene*; not only good for the matter, but the manner of proceeding. This high court did not only conſult with Heaven for wiſdom and direction, (a precedent for other courts to begin every ſolemn action with prayer), but examined witneſſes ſeveral days upon oath, to inform their conſciences; and received abundant ſatisfaction in a judicial way (which by the law of the land was not requiſite in treaſon, the priſoner ſtanding mute) as judges, which before was moſt notorious and known to them as private perſons; and having moſt perſpicuouſly diſcerned, and weighed the merits of the cauſe in the balances of the ſanctuary, law, and right reaſon, pronounced as righteous a ſentence as ever was given by mortal men. And yet what action was ever ſo good, but was traduced, not only by unholy men, but by the holy men of the world? That profeſſors ſhould pray for juſtice, and then repine at the execution of it: bleſſed Lord! how does the god of this world ſtorm, now his kingdom is ſhaking? An inlightened eye muſt needs ſee that it is the deſign of Heaven to break all human glory with an iron ſceptre, that will not kiſs his golden ſceptre, and to exalt juſtice and mercy in the earth. I confeſs, if the greater part of the world ſhould approve ſuch high and noble acts of juſtice, it might be ſuſpected, becauſe the moſt people will judge erroneouſly: but that Chriſtians that have faſted and prayed many years for juſtice, ſhould now be angry to ſee it done; what is it, but like fooliſh paſſengers, that having been long at ſea in dangerous ſtorms, as they are entering into the quiet haven, to be mad with the pilot becauſe he will not return into the angry ſeas? But I ſhall obſerve one paſſage in the Lord Preſident's ſpeech, as a ſcholar may preſume to ſay a word after his maſter, concerning the many menaces and minatory dangerous ſpeeches which are given forth concerning this high court; if men muſt be killed for the faithful diſcharge of their duties to God and their country, I am ſure the murderer will have the worſt of it in concluſion, if he ſhould not be known here, (though murder is a ſin that ſeldom goes unpuniſhed in this world; and never did any Jeſuit hold it meritorious to kill men for bringing tyrants and murderers to juſtice, or to do ſuch horrid acts in the ſight of the ſun). It was a noble ſaying of the Lord Preſident, That he was afraid of nothing ſo much as the not doing of juſtice; and when he was called to that high place which was put upon him, he ſought it not, but deſired to be excuſed more than once; not to decline a duty to God and the people for fear of any loſs or danger, (being above ſuch thoughts by many ſtoreys, as actions teſtify), but alledging that of himſelf, out of an humble ſpirit, which, if others had ſaid of him, I am ſure they had done him a great deal of wrong. And though he might have been ſufficiently diſcouraged, becauſe it was a new unprecedented tribunal of condemning a king, (becauſe never did any king ſo tyrannize and butcher the people: find me but that in any hiſtory, and on the other ſide the leaf you ſhall find him more than beheaded, even to be quartered, and given to be meat to the fowls of the air); yet the glory of God, and the love of juſtice, conſtrained him to accept it: and with what great wiſdom and undauntedneſs of reſolution, joined with a ſweet meekneſs of ſpirit, he hath performed it, is moſt evident to all, the malignants themſelves being judges. Concerning this high court, to ſpeak any thing of this glorious adminiſtration of juſtice, is but to ſhew the ſun with a candle, (the ſun of juſtice now ſhines moſt glorioufly, and it will be fair weather in the nation; but, alas! the poor mole is blind ſtill, and cannot ſee it; but none ſo blind as they that will not ſee it). However, it is not proper or convenient for me at preſent, to ſpeak all the truth that I know (the generations that are to come will call them bleſſed) concerning the integrity and juſtice of their proceedings, leſt I that am a ſervant ſhould be counted a ſycophant, which I abhor in my ſoul, as my body does poiſon: and this I will be bold to ſay, (which I hope God guides my hand to write), this high court hath cut off the head of a tyrant; and they have done well: undoubtedly it is the beſt action that they ever did in all their lives; a matter of pure envy, not hatred; for never ſhall or can any men in this nation promerit ſo much honour as theſe have done, by any execution of juſtice comparable to this. And, in ſo doing, they have pronounced ſentence, not only againſt one tyrant, but tyranny itſelf: therefore, if any of them ſhall turn tyrants, or conſent to ſet up any kind of tyranny by a law, or ſuffer any unmerciful domineering over the conſciences, perſons and eſtates of the free people of this land, they have pronounced ſentence againſt themſelves; but good trees cannot bring forth bad fruits: therefore let all deſperate malignants repent, ere it be too late, of any ſuch ungodly purpoſes, and fight no longer againſt God. Every man is ſown here as a ſeed or grain, and grows up to be a tree; it behoves us all to ſee in what ground we ſtand. Holy and righteous men will be found to be timber for the great building of God in his love, when tyrants, and enemies to holineſs and juſtice, will be for a threſhold or footſtool to be troden upon, or fit for the fire.

Laſtly, For myſelf, I bleſs God, I have not ſo much fear as comes to the thouſandth part of a grain; it is for Cain to be afraid, that *every man that meets him will ſlay him*. I am not much ſolicitous whether I die of a conſumption, or by the hand of Ravilliacs; I leave that to my heavenly Father. If it be his will that I ſhall fall by the hand of violence, *It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaſeth*. If my indentures be given in before the term of my apprenticeſhip be expired, and that I be at my Father's houſe before it be night, I am ſure there is no hurt in all this. If I have but ſo much time left, I ſhall pray my Father to forgive the murderer. The blood of Chriſt can waſh away ſins of the deepeſt ſtain; but when he ſees his childrens blood ſprinkled upon the bloody wretch, he loves every member as he loves himſelf. But know this, ye that have conceived any deſperate intentions againſt thoſe honourable juſtices, who made you freemen, unleſs you will return to Egypt; if God, in wrath to you, and love to any of his people, ſhould ſuffer you to imbrew your hands in any of their innocent blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will coſt you ten times more anguiſh and grief of heart, than the pleaſure of the ſin can cauſe delight: and what a baſe thing it is to do that which muſt be repented of at the beſt? But if you repent not, it had been better for you to have never been born. But let every man be faithful in doing his duty, and truſt God with the ſucceſs, and rejoice in Chriſt in the teſtimony of a good conſcience; for he that hath not a ſoul to loſe, hath nothing to loſe. But, bleſſed be God, I have no ſoul to loſe; therefore I deſire only to fear him, whom to fear *is the beginning of wiſdom:* and for all malignants to come in, and join with honeſt men in ſettling this nation upon noble principles of juſtice, freedom, and mercy to the poor, will be their beſt and greateſt underſtanding.

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